

THE
WORKS
OF

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bar^t.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME IV.

To which is prefixed,

The LIFE and CHARACTER of the AUTHOR.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for G. HAMILTON & J. BALFOUR, A. KINCAID & A.
DONALDSON, L. HUNTER, W. GORDON, J. YAIR, and
C. WRIGHT; and for A. STALKER, at *Glasgow*.

M,DCC,LIV.

W O R K S

OF

ST WILLIAM TEMPLE, Esq.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.



The Library of the Author.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, A. Kincaid & A. Davidson, W. Galloway, J. Yalden, and J. G. Macdonald, in A. Strathairn, Glasgow.

MDCCLXXV.

LETTERS
TO THE
KING,
THE
PRINCE of ORANGE,
THE
Chief Ministers of STATE,
AND OTHER
PERSONS.

Published by JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

LETTERS

TO THE

KING

THE

PRINCE OF ORANGE

THE

Chief Ministers of STATE

AND OTHER

PERSONS

By JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

Handwritten signature

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE following Papers are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcribed in his lifetime. I have in all things followed his directions as strictly as I could: but, accidents unforeseen having since intervened, I have thought convenient to lessen the bulk of this volume. To which end I have omitted several letters addressed to persons with whom this author corresponded, without any particular confidence, farther than upon account of their posts; because great numbers of such letters, procured out of the office, or by other means (how justifiable I shall not examine) have been already printed: but running wholly upon long dry subjects of business, have met no other reputation than merely what the reputation of the author would give them. If I could have foreseen an end of this trade, I should, upon some considerations, have longer forbore sending these into the world. But I daily hear, that new discoveries of original letters are passing to the press: to stop the current of which, I am forced to an earlier publication than I designed. And therefore I take this occasion to inform the reader, That these letters ending with the author's revocation from his employments abroad (which, in less than two years, was followed by his retirement from all public business) are the last he ever intended for the press; having been selected by himself from great numbers yet lying among his papers.

If

If I could have been prevailed with by the rhetoric of booksellers, or any other little regards, I might easily, instead of retrenching, have made very considerable additions; and by that means have perhaps taken the surest course to prevent the interloping of others. But if the press must needs be loaded, I had rather it should not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the style of a publisher (an office lyable to much censure, without the least pretension to merit or to praise) that, if I have not been much deceived by others and my self, the reader will hardly find one letter in this collection unworthy of the author, or which does not contain something either of entertainment or of use.

L E T T E R S

LETTERS

TO THE

KING, the Prince of Orange,
&c.

To the Duke of Florence.

Sheen, Novemb. — 1672.

SIR,

AS I ought at all times, and in every manner possible, to shew the sense I have of the honour done me by your most serene Highness, in the repeated instances of your goodness to me, and the many expressions of your kind remembrance of me; and as it is not long since my Lord Stafford shewed me a letter of your Highness's writing, in as proper *English*, as if your Highness had been more years than you were weeks in *England*, I resolved to send to your Highness the inclosed papers, which are part of the fruits of that leisure and retirement, which I have lately enjoyed in the country. They contain the three last chapters of the remarks I have made upon the present state of *Holland*; the first thoughts of which undertaking,

Au Duc de Florence.

De Sheen, Nov.— 1672.

Monsieur,

Comme je dois toujours, & en toutes manieres, reconnoître le bonheur que Votre Altesse Sme. m'a fait par tant des témoignages de sa bonté & de son souvenir; & qu'il n'y a pas long tems que Milord Stafford m'a montré une lettre de V. A. écrite aussi bien en Anglois comme si elle eût séjournée plus d'années en Angleterre, qu' elle n'en a fait des semaines; J'ay résolu d'envoyer à V. A. ces papiers envelopés, comme une partie des fruits que j'ay cueilli dans l'oisiveté des nos champs. Ces sont les trois derniers chapitres des remarques, que j'ay tracé sur l'état de la Hollande, dont la pensée

8 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

taking, I was inspired with by the example of your Highness; having with admiration observed the great application you used, and the judicious curiosity you shewed on this subject during the course of those voyages and journeys you made with a most generous purpose, thereby to advance and promote real knowledge, and not to make a shew of your own magnificence and state. I make no doubt, but your Highness has it in your intentions, to make the speculations of strangers abroad, part of your own diversion at home, and to turn them to the profit of your own country: since great part of *Tuscany* is so advantageously situated for the carrying on commerce in the amplest manner. Nor did I think it would be disagreeable, to lay before you in a clearer view, those occasions and conjunctures which conspired together to ruin and overthrow, as it were, at one stroke, that republic which your Highness so lately saw in so great and flourishing a condition, and under the conduct of so wise a ministry. It was on this account, that I have chosen to send your Highness these chapters, concerning their commerce, their strength, and the causes of their late misfortune: and if I continue my intention of publishing the treatise entire, I shall not fail to present to your Highness the first copy that

pensée m'a été premierement inspiré par l'exemple de V. A. ayant admiré l'application & curiosité judicieuse qu'elle a employé sur ce sujet, durant le cours des voyages qu'elle y a fait sur un dessein si genereux que l'accroissement de ces belles connoissances, & non pas l'ostentation de sa grandeur. Je n'ay pas douté que V. A. n'ait eu l'intention d'exercer chez elle les speculations faites chez les étrangers, considerant l'assiette d'une partie de la Toscane si propre pour l'établissement de plus grand commerce. Et j'ay crû que vous seriez content de considerer à plus pres les occasions & conjonctures que ont conspiré à accabler, quasi d'un coup, cette republique, que V. A. a veu depuis peu si grande & si fleurissante, & animée par un si sage ministere. C'est pourquoy j'ay choisi à luy envoyer ces chapitres touchant leur commerce, leurs forces, & les causes de leur dernier malheur: et si je me resoudray un jour à mettre en lumiere le discours entier, je ne manqueray pas à presenter à V. A. le premier qui en sortira, comme à luy donner toutes les marques possibles de

that comes from the press; being ever ready to give all possible marks of that devotion which I always pay to your person and high endowments, and to omit no proof of that zeal, which I shall ever have for your service. Your Highness will reflect, that the fruits of our poor climate, can never come near those of *Italy*, and are therefore only to be received for their novelty, as our apples are served up among the figs and raisins of *Florence*: and your Highness will pardon the liberty I take on this occasion, to cultivate and enlarge that part which your Highness has the goodness to give me in your remembrance, and to renew those professions, which I have so often made, of that most real passion with which I am,

*Your most Serene Highness's
most humble and most
obedient servant.*

To the Duke of Florence.

Dublin, May 20. N. S. 1673.

SIR,

THE letter of the 15th of February, which your most Serene Highness did me the honour to write, found me in Ireland, whither the necessary care of my family-affairs had carried me, and obliged

VOL. IV.

me

de la devotion, que j'ay toujours eu pour sa personne, & ses grandes qualitez, comme du zele que je porteray toujours à son service. V. A. fera reflexion, que les fruits de ce mechant climat, n'approchent pas ceux d'*Italie*, & ne les doit considerer, que par la nouveauté, comme quelqu'uns de nos pommes parmi les figues & raisins de la *Florence*. Et V. A. pardonnera la liberté que je prens sur cette occasion de cultiver la part qu'elle m'a donné en son souvenir, & de renouveler les professions que j'ay fait si souvent d'une passion veritable avec laquelle je suis,

De V.A. Sme.

Le tres Humble & tres
Obeissant Serviteur.

Au Duc de Florence.

Dublin, May 20. S. N.

Monsieur, 1673.

L'Honneur que V. A. Sme. m'a fait par sa lettre du 15me. de Fevrier, m'a trouvé en Irlande, ou quelques affaires domestiques m'ont

B

attiré

10 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

me to continue for three months. The matters to be settled before I made this voyage, took up so much time, that I have but just compassed it; and this has brought upon me a necessity of returning my most humble thanks much later than I could wish; but yet with all due esteem and devotion. Your Highness does me the justice to regard me as one intirely belonging to you, and in this view it is, that your Highness's judgment concerning my papers, has shewn itself altogether partial to them: however, I will not presume to gainsay it, and thereby your Highness will have a fresh assurance, that, like your will and pleasure, your judgment is with me incontestable. When your Highness signifies, that the reading my writings gave you any the least satisfaction, it gives me the greatest opinion of my own glory; and while I possess the letter you have honoured me with on this occasion, I have the greatest sense of my own riches. Methinks, I have just made a voyage to the *Indies*, and have purchased gold and precious stones for toys and trifles. Even in the dark and dull climate I am now in, I have light enough to discover most clearly, that every line of your Highness has a far greater lustre, than the most excellent

attiré pour trois mois de séjour. Les detours necessaires à ce voyage l'ont tellement retardé, qui j'en suis depuis peu seulement en possession, & me trouve par là, dans la nécessité de rendre à V. A. mes tres humbles reconnoissances plus tard que je n'aurois souhaité, encore qu'avec toute l'estime & devotion que je dois. Je voy bien que V. A. me fait la justice de me regarder comme une chose qui lui appartient entierement, & que par là elle s'est rendue tout à fait partiale au jugement qu'elle a fait de me papiers. Mais je ne veux pas me defendre, & de là V. A. se pourra bien assurer que son jugement sera toujours pour moy incontestable, aussi bien que sa volonté. Je me sens trop glorieux de ce que V. A. temoigne avoir trouvé la moindre satisfaction en cette lecture, & trop riche par la lettre dont elle m'a honoré sur cette occasion. Il me semble avoir fait un voyage des Indes, & recueilli de l'or & des pierreries en retour de la plus chetive marchandise; & j'ay assez de lumiere en ce climat le plus obscur, pour

lent compositions, that such a country as ours can produce; and appears like a touch from the hand of *Raphael*, infinitely superior to the confused designs of our *English* painters. I did intend to send your Highness the book entire, of which you have seen a small part with so much indulgence; but the bookseller at *London* being in such haste, as to publish it in my absence, I found so many faults in the print, that I was ashamed even to own it for mine, and therefore omitted sending to your Highness the first copy, which I stood obliged to do both by promise and duty. But by the good luck of the bookseller, and through the humour of the present times, which at present are mighty inquisitive after any thing that relates to *Holland*, the first impression has had so quick a sale, that a second is now printing, and almost finished. I have myself taken care of the correcting of this edition; and, tho' I am upon my return to *England*, yet I have sent to my bookseller an express order by this post to deliver into Monsieur *Tivieffi's* hands the two first copies to be sent to your most Serene Highness. Had I a capacity to do it, I would have translated it into *Italian*, and have begged leave to dedicate it to your Highness; the honour of so great a name
being

pour m'appercevoir clairement que chaque ligne de V. A. ait bien autre éclat que les plus belles compositions qu'un país comme le nôtre pourra jamais produire, & paroît comme un rayon de la main de Raphael, au regard des pieces brouillées de nos peintres Anglois. J'avois pourtant l'intention d'envoyer à V. A. la piece entiere, dont elle a veu seulement les pieds avec tant d'indulgence; mais la precipitation d'un libraire l'ayant fait sortir à Londres en mon absence, j'ay trouvé qu'il y avoit tant de fautes de l'impression, que j'avois honte de l'avouer pour mien, & me contentois par là de n'avoir pas mandé à V. A. le premier, selon mon devoir aussi bien que ma promesse. Mais par le bonheur du dit libraire, & l'humour du tems curieux à present sur le sujet de la Hollande, il s'est trouvé au bout de la premiere impression dans si peu de tems, qu'il va deja achever une seconde, à la correction de laquelle j'ay donné la main, & encore que je me trouve sur mon retour pour l'Angleterre, je n'ay pas voulu manquer à

12 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

being the only means to protect so mean and weak a discourse. But as it was owing to the favour only which your Highness has the goodness to shew to the *English* tongue, that I presumed to send you the pattern at first of this discourse; I send you the rest of it likewise, in the mean and ordinary dress of its own country, rather than adorned with the rich habit of a foreign one, which would ill become the simplicity of its birth, as well as the meanness of its condition. What remains but to intreat your Highness to receive it as the proper effect of your own commands, as well as a testimony of that particular zeal and passion, with which I am, and shall be all my life,

Your most Serene Highness's
most humble, &c.

à luy envoyer un ordre exprès par ce courier de mettre en main de Monsieur Tiviesse les deux premiers exemplaires pour être envoyé à V. A. Sme. Si j'en étois capable je l'aurois traduit en Italien, & supplie V. A. d'honorer la dedication par un si grand nom, comme le seul moyen de protéger un si foible sujet. Mais comme la seule faveur que V. A. témoigne pour la langue Angloise, m'a donné la hardiesse à luy envoyer le premier échantillon, je fais partir aussi le reste plutôt dans le pauvre habit de son país que paré d'un plus riche des país étrangers; ce que seroit mal assorti à la simplicité de sa naissance, aussi bien que de sa condition. Au reste, V. A. recevra si luy plait comme l'effet de son propre commandement aussi bien que comme un témoignage de la dévotion toute particuliere & passionnée avec laquelle je seray toute ma vie,

De V. A. Sme.

les très humble, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

SIR,

Sheen, February—1673-4.

THough the honour I expected of attending your Highness, upon so great and so happy a conjuncture, has not fallen me; and his Majesty's late resolutions, for my sudden journey into *Holland*, have been diverted, by occasions, that made way for a more speedy conclusion of the peace: yet I could not be satisfied, without making use of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius's* favour to me, in charging himself with this trouble; by which I might, at the same time, give your Highness the particular account of all that has passed, in this late transaction here; and withal rejoice with you upon the happy successes that have attended your affairs on the other side; in which, I will assure your Highness, both his Majesty and all his good subjects, have taken such a share, as has very much contributed to the easy and sudden dispatch of this great affair; wherein both your Highness and the States, and indeed the happiness and safety of both nations, are so nearly concerned. For my own part, I will only say, that as no man gave so public and so avowed testimonies of the devotion and honour I have always had at heart, for your Highness's person and service; and of the esteem that I knew was from all men due to you, in the greatest decline of your fortune; so, at this time, when your Highness will receive the general compliments and applauses of all men; there is none among them, that can take a more particular part in your Highness's good fortunes, nor make more passionate wishes for their continuance and increase. But I know your Highness does me so much justice, as to believe all that can be said from me of this kind, unnecessary. Therefore, I shall proceed to tell your Highness, that upon receipt of the States last letter,
with

14 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

with desire of passports for their Ambassadors, and offers of a cessation of arms, his Majesty was pleased, upon the 3d current, being *Tuesday* morning, to declare at the committee of foreign affairs, that having thought of it in the night, he was resolved, for preventing all delays, that attend the coming of Ambassadors hither, to send over into *Holland*; and that he would send me with the project of a treaty, and full powers to conclude immediately, if the States were in the mind they expressed of doing him justice. This was received with so great a concurrence, that I was immediately sent for, acquainted with his Majesty's intentions, and commanded to be ready to begin my journey the next day, and to attend upon the two Secretaries of State that afternoon, at the drawing both the project, and my instructions. I told the King, I would obey him; but that I might the better do it, I begged of him, that I might go without any character of Ambassador; which would delay me with the preparations of equipage here, and embarrass me with ceremonies there, unnecessary for so sudden a dispatch. His Majesty thought it reasonable, and so gave order I should go without any other character, than of Plenipotentiary; but gave me the appointment of all kinds of an Ambassador, which he told me, I must take upon me, when the peace was concluded.

The project and instructions could not be finished till *Wednesday* at evening, nor the commission sealed till *Thursday* at noon, which was designed for my setting out; and in order to it, I had kissed the King's and Duke's hands late on *Wednesday* night, and received their letters to your Highness, and sent away my servants towards *Harwich* on *Thursday* morning. But about ten o'clock the same day arrived the packet, by a trumpeter from *Holland*, which brought full powers to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to treat and conclude

conclude the peace: upon the knowledge whereof, I went immediately to the King, and told him, how inconvenient it would be, to expose the treaty to the accidents of a journey, of seas, and of weather, when it might be finished here, perhaps before I could be at *Harwich*: besides, that it would be more honour for his Majesty to treat it here than at the *Hague*, which was an expedient only for dispatch, and therefore begged of his Majesty, that no consideration of me might divert him from falling into the business here, at least, till he saw it could not be effected. The King was pleased with what I said, sent me immediately to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to bring an account of his powers, and has done me the honour to make me treat the whole thing with his Excellency in all its points, so as to leave occasion only for the Commissioners to meet once on *Saturday*, to agree upon drawing up the treaty; and yesterday again at four o'clock for signing it. But after all this was agreed, and before that hour was come, I was forced by an accident in town to come down into the country for two or three days, and so have the mortification of not seeing Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* before his going away with the ratifications, which I left the King resolved he should do this night.

It is not fit to entertain your Highness farther from the country; but I hope, upon my return to town, to have his Majesty's leave to send your Highness, by next post, the letters he was pleased to encharge me with; as likewise that from the Duke, with very particular expressions from them both, which, I suppose, you will not be willing to lose, though you may receive of a later date. In the mean time, I beg your Highness to believe, that upon all occasions I shall be infinitely proud and pleased to give you the best testimonies

16 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

monies of the sincerest and devoteft passion, where-
with I have been so long, and shall ever be,

SIR,

Your Highness's, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

Au Duc de Florence.

London, February 11. 1673-4.

Londres, Fevr. 11.

SIR,

Monfieur, 1673-4.

DURING my retirement into
the country it was not
possible for me to find any pre-
tence for a letter; so that I
have not for some time been
able to make use of that li-
berty which your most Serene
Highness has had the goodness
to allow me of writing; but
since my return to town, ha-
ving within these few days met
with an affair of great impor-
tance, the particulars of which
I thought your Highness would
be pleased to know; I would
not lose any one of those few
opportunities that I have, of
giving proof of the passion
which I have had so long, to
discharge faithfully that duty
that I lye under, to do every
thing that may be any ways for
your Highness's service or en-
tertainment.

On Monday the 2d of this in-
stant, the King received cer-
tain news of the resolution
taken by the States General,
to make the office and digni-
ty of the Prince of Orange
hereditary; and with this ac-
count,

N'Ayant rien trouvé
dans la solitude des
champs pour me fournir de
pretexte; je n'ay pas aussi
depuis peu pris la liberté que
V. A. Sme. m'a autre fois
donné de l'entretenir, mais
ayant ces jours passés ren-
contré en ville une grande
conjoncture, & dont jay crû
que V. A. seroit contente de
savoir le detail; je n'ay pas
voulu perdre une occasion
qui se presente si peu souvent,
pour faire valoir à V. A. la
passion que j'ay eu si long
tems à me bien acquitter de
toutes sortes des devoirs qui
luy pourroient être ou de ser-
vice ou d'entretien.

Lundi 2d de ce mois, le
Roy receut d'Hollande les
nouvelles assurées de la re-
solution prise par les Etats,
de rendre hereditaire la
charge & dignite du Prince
d'Orange,

count, a letter from the States, desiring passports for their Ambassadors, and an offer to agree to a suspension of arms. About the same time, the two houses of Parliament had formally given the King their advice to make peace as soon as possible, and to enter upon a treaty upon the foot of those propositions offered by the Ambassador of Spain, which his Majesty had communicated to them, when he asked their advice. On *Tuesday* the 3d in the morning, the King declared in council; that having the night before considered of the importance of the present conjuncture, he had resolved to avoid all delays, by sending an Ambassador to *Holland*, and that he had pitched upon myself for that purpose. This resolution of the King's meeting with the approbation of the whole council, I had notice of it, and directions given me to promote the project, and act in pursuance of his Majesty's design, which was to conclude the peace, and sign it at the *Hague*. *Thursday* the 5th, about noon, was the time appointed for my departure. I waited for my dispatches, but sent my attendants before, resolving to follow them post to *Harwich* (there being no going down the river, because the wind was contrary). I had received the money for my equipage

d'Orange, & une lettre de la part des Etats avec la demande des passeportes pour leurs Ambassadeurs, & l'offre d'une suspension d'armes. Environ le même tems, les deux maisons du Parlement avoient donné au Roy leurs avis formels de faire la paix au plutôt, & d'entrer en traité sur les propositions offertes par l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, lesquelles sa Majesté leur avoit mise en main quand il demanda leur avis. Mardi 3me. au matin, le Roy declara au conseil secret, qu'ayant songé la nuit à l'importance de cette conjuncture, il avoit resolu pour eviter les retardements, d'envoyer en Hollande; & me nomma pour cette ambassade. La chose ayant rencontré la concurrence entiere de tous ceux du conseil; on me manda aussitôt, & me donna part de la resolution, & ordre d'assister à la digestion du projet, sur laquelle sa Majesté seroit contente que la paix se fit, & se signât à la Haye. Jeudy 5me. à midy étoit le tems pris pour mon partement; & en attendant mes depêches j'avois fait partir mes gens pour leur

page, and his Majesty's letters, and had kissed the King's and the Duke's hand, when about ten of the clock in the morning on the same *Thursday* a trumpeter arrived from *Holland*, bringing full and entire powers to the Ambassador of *Spain*, to treat here of a peace and bring it to a conclusion if it could be done. I immediately waited upon his Majesty with this news, and begged of him to lay aside all regard to me, and not expose a treaty of such importance, to the accidents of time and voyages, when it might perhaps be finished here, before I should get even to *Harwich*, and when the doing it here at *London*, would be more for his Majesty's honour, than at the *Hague*. His Majesty received me very graciously, and was pleased to send me forthwith to the Ambassador of *Spain*, to see his powers, and discover, as far as I could, his instructions, to form a judgment, whether the peace could be now concluded. I have laid before his Majesty my opinion concerning the validity of his powers, and the likelihood I found there was of bringing this affair to a conclusion here. Hereupon, his Majesty ordered me to treat with the Ambassador; which I have done point by point, and we have brought matters so well to bear, that Commissioners appointed by

suivre en poste à Harwich (le vent étant contraire à la sortie de la rivière. J'avois reçu l'argent de mon équipage, & les lettres de sa Majesté, & baissé la main au Roy & au Duc; quand sur les dix heures du matin dudit Jeudy, arriva un trompette d'Hollande, portant à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, les pleins & entiers pouvoirs à traiter & conclurre la paix icy s'il en pouvoit convenir. Je m'en allois aussitôt au Roy pour luy porter la nouvelle, le suppliant de n'avoir aucune considération de moy en cette affaire, & de n'exposer un traité si important, aux accidents du tems, & des voyages, quand il le pourroit peut être achever icy devant que serois à *Harwich*, & même avec plus d'honneur à *Londres* qu'à la *Haye*. Sa Majesté le prit en bonne part, & m'envoya aussitôt à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne pour voir ses pouvoirs, & le sonder tant que je pourrois sur ses instructions, à fin de juger s'il y avoit apparence de conclurre icy. J'ay rapporté au Roy mes sentimens sur la validité des pouvoirs, & l'apparence que

by his Majesty and the Ambassador have signed the treaty the *Monday* following. On *Wednesday* Monsieur Sylvius (who was to have accompanied me to wait on the Prince of *Orange*, and congratulate him on his accession to the hereditary dignity) went away with those compliments of congratulation, and carried with him the ratification of the treaty; so that we expect the ratification back again in two or three days, signed by the States, after which the peace will be proclaimed; which, I beg leave to assure your Highness, will be both honourable and advantageous to his Majesty. The affair of *Pavillon* and *Surinam* is adjusted entirely to his Majesty's satisfaction. There is so much the more likelihood of the continuance of this peace, because the Queen of *Spain* is not only guaranty of it, but also is appointed arbitrator of those differences which may happen among the Commissioners which are to be appointed within three months to determine all points concerning commerce to the *Indies* and the maritime affairs.

que j'ay trouvé d'achever l'affaire. Sur cela sa Majesté m'a chargé de la traiter avec l'Ambassadeur, ce que j'ay fait de point en point, & nous en sommes si bien demêlés que les Commissaires de sa Majesté & l'Ambassadeur ont signé le traité le *Lundi* suivant. *Mecredi* Monsieur Sylvius (qui me devoit avoir accompagné pour rejouir avec le Prince d'*Orange* de la part de sa Majesté sur son avenement à la dignité hereditaire) partit avec les dits complimens, & la ratification du traité; de sorte que nous attendons en deux ou trois jours que la ratification viendra de la part des Etats, & que la dessus la paix sera publiée; laquelle je pourrois assurer V. A. être faite honorable & avantageuse pour sa Majesté. L'affaire de *Pavillon* & de *Surinam* luy est tout accordé entierement à sa satisfaction. Aussi il y a tant plus apparence de la durée, que la Reine d'*Espagne* ne soit non seulement constituée dans la garantie de la paix, mais aussi dans l'arbitrage de differens qui pourroient succeder sur une commission qui se doit

doit faire en trois mois de tems pour decider quelques points sur la matiere de commerce aux Indes, & de la marine.

I thought, that notice of an affair of this great weight and consequence to all *Christendom*, and of the several steps taken therein, would not be disagreeable to your Highness, which made me encharge myself with the giving it you; intreating your Highness, by those small services, to judge in what manner, and with what satisfaction, I should most willingly acquit myself in matters of greater concern, if fortune should ever be so much my friend as to put it in my power; for no one can be with more justice, or more passion, than myself,

Your most Serene Highness's

most humble, &c.

J'ay crû que la notice & les mouvements d'une affaire si grande & si importante à toute la Chrétienté, ne seroient pas desagrees à V. A. c'est pour quoy j'ay voulu m'en charger; la suppliant de juger par les petits services de quelle maniere & avec quelle satisfaction je m'acquitterois volontiers de plus grands, si la fortune me seroit jamais si favorable que de m'en faire naître les occasions: car personne ne peut être avec plus de justice ni avec plus de passion que moy,

Monsieur,

De V. A. Sme. &c.

To Monsieur Gourville.

London, Feb. 12 N. S. 1673-4.

SIR,

I Never entered into an acquaintance with more pleasure, nor left off one with more regret, than yours. I flatter myself, that the beginning of it arose from that similitude of humours and opinions,

A Monsieur Gourville.

Londres, Fevr. 12. S. N.

Monsieur, 1673-4.

J'E n'ay fait aucune connoissance avec plus de plaisir, ni perdu aucun commerce avec plus de regret que le vôtre. Je me flatte tant que

nions, that is in us ; as the interruption of it was owing to those unhappy circumstances, which have so long kept us asunder. I am not willing to think myself, however, either so old, or so unfortunate, as to be without hope of enjoying once more in my life, your good company, which I rather wish might be in France than in any other place. While I live in the expectation of this pleasure, I have given my son an advantage which I am not so happy as to have myself : he will, at the same time, give you an assurance of my ready services, and make you an offer of his own ; that so the entire possession you have of me, may, as it were, become an inheritance. If you have any commands either for the father, or son, I intreat you to lay them upon us, with the same freedom you ever did, during our long and strict friendship in Flanders ; and if he stands in need of your protection, I assure myself, that you never will refuse it him ; there being no one in the world with more esteem and passion than myself,

S I R,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant, &c.

que d'attribuer le premier à quelque ressemblance d'humeurs & d'opinions, et le dernier au seul malheur des conjonctures qui nous ont éloignés depuis si long tems. Je ne me veux pas croire encore si vieux ni si malheureux que de ne vous voir pas encore un jour de ma vie, et j'aimerois mieux qu'il fût en France qu'en tout autre lieu. Mais en attendant j'ay voulu donner à mon fils un avantage que je ne puis pas avoir moy même : il vous assurera en même tems de mes services et vous fera l'offre de siens ; à fin que la possession que vous avez acquis si entierement de moy, vous puissiez passer en heritage. Si vous avez quelques commandemens pour le pere ou le fils, je vous supplie de nous en charger avec la franchise de nôtre amitié de Flandres ; et s'il aura besoin de vôtre protection, je sçay que vous ne la luy refuserez point, puis qu'il n'y a personne qui peut être avec plus de passion ni plus d'estime que moy,

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble &
tres obeissant serviteur.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR,

London, February 17. 1673-4.

I Did not think, a fortnight ago, that you would hear from me, at this time, from this place, having been unexpectedly designed another way, which you have had some account of from my sister: but 'tis fit you receive a more particular one from me, upon an occasion, which I know you will not be displeased with, both as to what concerns the public, and myself. You will easily imagine the necessities, that prevailed with the King and his Ministers, to fall into the councils of making a sudden peace with *Holland*. So soon as this resolution was taken privately among them, my Lord *Arlington* sent for me, and told me of it; and that, at the same time, the King and my Lord Treasurer, both together, at the foreign committee (so as he could not say, which of them named me first) proposed my being sent over, upon this occasion; and the King added, that there was no man else to be thought of; and so had commanded him to send for me, and acquaint me with it. I told him, I should obey his Majesty, as became me, and much the rather, upon a point by which I thought he fell into his true interest, wherein my opinions were but too well known. After this, I went to the King, and said the same things; and what else I esteemed proper upon that occasion; and that I would serve him, as well as I could, though I doubted I was grown a little rusty, by lying still so long; and begun to shrink at a hard journey, in such a cruel season, after having given myself all the ease I could, for three years at home. The King smiled, and said, he would answer for me. I told him, that would give me confidence; but there was another point, I desired to govern myself; which was, that my Lord *Arlington* having told me

me I was to go Ambassador, I had no mind to charge myself with that character, upon so sudden a journey, and an affair that ought to be sudden too. That the greatest piece of service I had ever done him, in all my employments abroad, which was that of the triple alliance, I had treated and concluded in five days, and with the character of Envoy ; and I was confident, I could never have done it, if I had been Ambassador : that the ceremonies of it hindered the business where it pressed. That having been twice Ambassador, I needed not to value myself upon this occasion, especially in *Holland*, where I was well enough known : and therefore I desired I might go with the character of Envoy extraordinary, and for this particular affair only of the peace. That when this was made, his Majesty might send what person, and what character he pleased over, to reside there, and go on with the measures he should have taken.

The King seemed very much to approve what I said ; and told me, that of Ambassador was only thought of, because I had been Ambassador before ; and they thought I would not be content to go without it ; but he saw, I was a wiser man, and I should not lose by it ; for, though I went without the character, yet I should have the pay of an Ambassador ; and if I should stay in *Holland* after the peace was made, I should then have the character. Hereupon, in two days time, my instructions were drawn up, my small equipage prepared, and my servants sent before to *Harwich*, where I intended to follow post the day after : but I would not suffer either my wife or sister to engage in so hasty a journey, and at so ill a time of the year ; though they were neither of them willing to let me go away alone, out of care of my health, which I promised to take myself, and deserve their good opinion in it.

The

24 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

The very day I was to go, came in an *expres* from *Holland*, with full powers from the *States* to the Marquis of *Fresno* (the *Spanish* Ambassador here) to treat and conclude the peace. My Lord *Arlington* immediately acquainted me with it, and desired, I would go to the King, who was then at the house of *Lords*, and tell him this new incident, and know his pleasure upon it; his Lordship seeming a little in pain at my part in it. But I told him, I thought the business had this way a better turn than they themselves had given it: that it would not only be dispatched here with less time, but with more honour to his Majesty than at the *Hague*: that for my part, I was so far from being disappointed, that I was very glad of it; that I confessed I wished the thing, but so it were done, was not fond of having any part in it; and therefore was of opinion, they should presently fall in treaty with the Marquis, and so I would go and tell the King.

I will not tell you how pleased my Lord *Arlington* was with this answer, nor how obliging things he said to me upon it; but I was sorry he knew me so ill, as not to expect it, the thing being so right: I went to the King, said the same to him, which found the same reception; and he told me, though I did not treat it at the *Hague*, yet he was sure I should treat it here; and accordingly he sent for the Marquis that afternoon, and told him, he would send me to him that evening, to fall into the treaty; and that, if he could agree with me, he should reckon upon the thing done.

I had my orders, went to the Marquis, and we concluded all points in three days, though there was one of some difficulty: the instruments were dispatched with the same diligence, and signed by the Marquis and the King's Commissioners. And so that great affair ended, to the infinite satisfaction of all people here, as I doubt not it will be in *Spain* and *Holland*, and give a great turn to the conjunctures abroad.

Some

Some days after this conclusion, my Lord *Arlington* told me, the King thought fit to recal Sir *William Godolphin* out of *Spain*, upon several considerations, but chiefly upon reports that had run of his religion, which would not be very pleasing in the Parliament, with whom the King was resolved to live well ; and therefore had ordered him to make me the offer of going into *Spain*. That having been Ambassador in ordinary so long ago, the King thought it was but reason I should make some advance, and so would have me go Ambassador extraordinary ; which, to that Crown, was the employment of most dignity, and most advantage of any other abroad.

I desired his Lordship to make his Majesty my most humble acknowledgments for so many such unsought for honours, which were beyond what I could deserve. But that the thing was new ; and that I had learnt, by a *Spanish* proverb, not to make a sudden answer to a sudden question. That besides, the journey was long, and you formerly had an aversion to my undertaking it ; that I could not do it now, without first consulting you, whom I would not disobey. That I therefore desired his Lordship to excuse my answering the King, till I had written, and had an answer from you.

This is all I have to say, but that I leave it with you, to consult if you please, with my brother, and send me your resolution as soon as you can. I find my wife inclined to it, both upon respects of advantages to my fortune and my health, which she thinks suffered much in *Holland*. My sister, though the better *Spaniard*, has no great mind to it. For my own part, I am pretty indifferent ; I like the climate ; but you know I never cared for a remove, being ever apt to like the place and condition I am in ; and if I have a mind to mend it, I believe I cannot want occasions, upon this great revolution, and the return of our

26 . LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

councils to the point where I left them three or four years ago.

I shall give you no farther trouble at this time, but expect your answer, and remain ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

SIR,

London, February 28, 1673-4

I Thought your Highness would not be displeased, with receiving those marks of kindness from his Majesty and the Duke, which they intended you by me, though you have, I know, received others of a fresher date. Therefore, by leave from them both, I send you inclosed the letters I had the honour to be charged with, when I kissed their hands, upon my intended journey into *Holland*. The compliments I was commanded to carry your Highness from their mouths (besides what went from their hands) were, I will assure you, very particular. Especially those from his Majesty; to tell you, how great an inducement to the peace, your Highness's advancement to the hereditary dignity had been, and with how much more confidence he could now fall into good measures with *Holland*, than before. And those from the Duke, when at the end of a great deal spoken, very kindly, he bid me assure you, that he looked upon your Highness's interests, as the same with the King's and his own; and that if there were any thing, wherein you could use his service, you might be sure of it. I replied, pray, Sir, remember, there is nothing you except, and you do not know how far a young Prince's desire may go; but I am resolved to tell him what you say, and, if there be occasion, to be a witness of it:

it: the Duke smiled, well, well, you may tell him what I bid you: upon which I said; at least I will tell the Prince, that you smiled when I told you so, which I am sure, is a great deal better, than if you had frowned. I know your Highness will easily pardon me, for entertaining you with these circumstances; but I will say no more of this kind, unless you give me encouragement; nor of any other, to increase your trouble, at this time; unless it be, that if in any thing, either small or great, your Highness can find my services useful to you here, you will ever find them at your devotion, in a manner very particular; and that no man alive can be with more passion, or more truth,

SIR,

Your Highness's most obedient

and most humble servant.

To Sir John Temple,

SIR,

London, March 27. 1674.

UPON your expression of so much dislike to my journey into *Spain*, I acquainted the King with it; and gave that for the only reason of my excusing myself from it. I made his Majesty, at the same time, the greatest acknowledgments I could, for the honour he had done me, by the offer of it; and assured him, how glad I should be, to deserve so good an opinion, as he had pleased to express, in thinking me worthy of an employment, which, for my own part, I esteemed one of the best he had to give. The King was pleased to reply very graciously, that he thought so too, but yet he intended me a better; that he had been long engaged in the remove at present designed, but that upon the next, he was resolved

28 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

solved I should have it. He was pleased to say no more, but walked away; and I seemed to take no notice of what he meant. But the day after, I told all that had passed to my Lord *Arlington*: he seemed a good deal surprised at my refusing the *Spanish* embassy, and said, he believed the King had few subjects that would not be glad of it: that he had so little expected it, that he had told the Marquis of *Fresno* of the King's resolution in it: that for his own part, unless I was sure of his Secretary's place, he should not yet advise me to refuse the other.

This was said, with a face, and in a way, something graver than his has been of late towards me; and, I confess, surprised me more than he pretended I had done him. I told him, that I did not at all know what he meant, by saying, if I were not sure of his Secretary's place: that it was a thing I never had once in my thoughts, but when he had put it there, a great while ago, upon the resolution of Sir *John Trevor's* coming into the other: that my circumstances had been since much changed; and he knew I had thought of nothing, but my garden and a private life, for these three or four years past, till the King sent for me upon this peace with *Holland*. That he knew what had passed since, and he knew all; for I was no man of mystery nor intrigue; that I went abroad, when the King called me, and I liked my errand; and when these did not happen, I stayed at home. But I was still desirous to know what gave him occasion of saying that to me; for what the King had said could not be interpreted to mean any such thing.

He told me, that he knew I was related to my Lord Treasurer, and heard I was much in his favour; that he was now the great man, and could do what he pleased, and thought he might do this among other things; and could not imagine I would refuse the *Spanish* embassy, unless my Lord Treasurer and I had
agreed

agreed upon the other. I found where this matter pinched, and said, smiling, that he was never more mistaken in his life; that it was true, my wife was related to my Lord Treasurer; and that we were great companions, when we were both together young travellers and tennis players in *France*: but that for near twenty years past, we had not at all fallen in one another's way, till upon what had passed since the late councils, about a peace with *Holland*, in which our opinions seemed to agree: that since, we had met sometimes, but not often, nor in any confidences, That I knew he was a great man, but could not tell yet, to what points of the compass he intended to steer: that I left him, as I did every body else, to take his own measures; and for mine, he knew very well how little I troubled my friends about them.

Upon this he began with another countenance than in the beginning of this conversation, to tell me, that he easily believed all I told him; that he was so far from disliking my being well with my Lord Treasurer, how ill soever he was with him, that he advised me, as a friend, to be as well with him as I could. That he confessed he thought, I might have entered with him into a concert, of getting into his place, instead of Sir *Joseph Williamson*, which would have been no injury to him; for he knew I would not think of it, but upon the same terms as the other: that since we were fallen into this discourse, he would go farther with me, and tell me, 'twas true he had a good while had a mind to leave the toil of his place, and, perhaps, the envy; and so had agreed with Sir *Joseph Williamson*, to come in, and give him six thousand pounds, when my Lord St. *Albans* should be willing to part with the Chamberlain's staff, for which he was to give him ten. That my Lord St. *Albans* had been of late very much unresolved in this matter, and he knew not when he would fix; that whenever he did, he
was

was engaged in the other to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, by the King's consent, and would do nothing to break it. But if I had a mind, and could make interest enough in my Lord Treasurer to turn it another way, and bring my Lord *St. Albans* to a resolution, he would leave me wholly to play my own game; and, for his own part, it should be all one to him, from whom he received the six thousand pounds: and he would not only be passive in it, but if the King should ask his opinion, as to the fitness or capacity of the persons, he would tell it him freely, with all the preference to me that I deserved.

I gave his Lordship many thanks for the kindness and frankness of this discourse; but I told him, I believed it need go no farther. That, for my own part, I was both against his going out of the Secretary's place, and against my own, or any body's, coming into it for money; and I ended this conversation, with saying a great deal, to dissuade him from leaving his place.

About three or four days after, Mr. *Sidney* told me, that my Lord *Arlington* had spoken to Mr. *Mountague* about what had passed between us, and with a great deal of kindness of me, especially for being so earnest with him to keep his place, and the reasons I had given him for it; but yet in the belief, that I ought not to neglect this occasion, because he was resolved. Mr. *Sidney* was mighty earnest with me to resolve too; and next day Mr. *Mountague* spoke to me himself, and believing nothing could stick with me, unless it were taking up the money, he offered to help me to it: which was more than I had reason to expect, from him or any man else. My wife is enough inclined I should do it, though she and my children run most hazard in it, if I should die, and leave my estate charged with such a debt, which, though small at present, yet, I thank God, is clear. For my own part,

part, I confess, I find no motions about me towards it, and should have thought the *Spanish* embassy a much better employment. I have ever detested the custom grown amongst us of selling places, and much more those of so much importance to the Crown. I think it no great honour to be preferred before Sir *Joseph Williamson*, and yet I would not do him an injury neither, as this would seem to be. I have seen such changes at Court, that I know not yet what to make of this last; and still remember poor Monsieur *de Witt*'s word of, *fluctuation perpetuelle dans la conduite d'Angleterre*; which of all things in the world I am not made for, and had rather, once for all, break my head with going on, than be wrenching myself continually with sudden turns. I need say no more of this matter; it lies before you. Pray please to talk with my brother about it; 'tis what the family is concerned in more than I, and, therefore pray let me receive your judgment upon it, which in this, as all things else, shall ever have the greatest weight with,

SIR,

Your obedient son, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR,

Sheen, May 16. 1674.

I Have wholly followed your opinion, both in declining the motion about the Secretary's place, and in fixing that of *Holland*; since I find that the only present employment you are content with for me, and you are not content with none. My Lord *Arlington* seemed to take what I said to him upon both very indifferently, and though at first he raised a scruple about my going into *Holland*, in regard of a certain Lord's having been very hot, for some time in the pursuit of it: yet when I persisted in it, upon the
King's

King's having in *February* designed me for it, of his own motion, he advised me to take my measures, as well as I could, with my Lord Treasurer, about the main point, which was, what related to the exchequer; and for the King, he knew very well there would be no difficulty. Both these are now settled: the King has resolved to send me over Ambassador extraordinary to the States: and my Lord Treasurer is, after some contest, fallen into the terms I insisted, which is, to equal me with the other embassies of the Crowns; and so I engaged in my preparations for this journey. His Majesty is resolved I shall offer his mediation to the States, in their present war with *France*. If it be accepted by them and all the parties, I reckon he will be Master of the peace, and the parties be hindered from making their separate treaties, when they are once engaged in a general one. I hope you will like what is done, as much as you seemed before to desire it; which is all I ask, and leave the rest to God Almighty, for what is to come.

I resolve to take my whole family over; but yet that my wife and son shall first make you a visit, since I see you will not think of coming over. 'Tis their turn now, and my sister and I will go first into *Holland*; though we should both be very glad to wait upon you again, if it could have been allowed us. But my wife will not consent to my going without either her or my sister; and she has a great mind to carry over her son to you herself, after having been so long in *France*, and at an age when commonly the great changes are made, which you will judge of when you see him. I shall at present give you no farther trouble than the professions of my being ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, Hague, July 17. N. S. 1674.

I Ordered an account of my arrival here, on *Friday* last, to be given Mr. *Cook*, by that night's post; which being all I had then to say, I thought might well save you any farther trouble at that time. On *Saturday* morning I sent to the Pensioner *Fagel*, to desire an hour of seeing him some time that day; he excused it, but sent me word withal, that he would not fail of coming to me some time in the evening; which he performed, in a visit about two hours long. After the compliments on both sides, I fell upon these points with him: the satisfaction his Majesty had received in the late *peace* with the *States*; his desires and resolutions to continue and cultivate it; the reason he had to content himself with the posture and advantages in which he stood, by a peace with all his neighbours, while they were all engaged in a war; that, if his bounty and piety did not prevail with him, farther than his interests, he should sit down with his own peace, and not trouble himself farther about that of *Christendom*; but these dispositions, and the desire of so general a good, had engaged him to offer his mediation in the present quarrels: that it had been accepted by *France*, and promised to be considered of by the Emperor and *Spain*, in concert with their *allies*: that the *States* Ambassadors in *England*, who understood our constitutions, and the dispositions of the *King* my Master, better than strangers could do, had promised all their offices, that his Majesty's offer might be accepted here, and that the parties might consent to the choice of *London* for the place of treaty; and thereupon I had brought over a letter from his Majesty to the *States*, with the offer of his mediation: that they ought to believe, that, if his Majesty

VOL. IV. E were

were partial to any side, it must be to that wherein his own *nephew* was so nearly concerned; and that they ought to think so the rather, since his Majesty made the offers of mediation, at a time when all the advantages of the war had run so high on the *French* side, and were, in all appearance, likely to do so still: that, perhaps, if his Majesty had seen *Flanders* like to be defended, by the arms of the confederates, he might have spared or delayed this office: that they knew he understood his interest too well, to be content to see *Flanders* lost; and that his honour would not suffer him, no more than the condition in which the last war hath left him, to go about preserving it any other way, than that of a peace. That his Majesty would be very glad such a one might be made, as would leave *Flanders* in a better posture of defending itself, than it was before, by laying the *Spanish* territories together more in a round, than the last peace left them: and, that when this should be concluded, I did not doubt, but they would find his Majesty ready to enter into the best and strongest guaranties of it, they could desire.

I need not trouble you, to tell you how this matter passed between us: but sum up together, what all I drew from him in the last conference amounted to. He first gave me thanks for the advice I had given their Ambassadors there; and said, he should be glad I would always be their counsellor, how they ought to comport themselves to his Majesty upon all occasions. He fell into a relation of the forces of their present league, especially by the conjunction of the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, whose treaty with the Emperor and them, he assured me, was absolutely concluded, so as to bring him into an offensive part of the war. That though they could not expect another so great conjuncture, and had but too great testimonies of the ill-will of *France*, particularly to this State; yet they had no o-

ther

ther thoughts but only of gaining such a peace, as might leave them and their allies out of danger, upon a new invasion from *France*: that for their own part they had recovered all they had lost, except *Grave*, which they hoped suddenly for a good account of, being already invested by Monsieur *Ralenbaupt*; for *Mastricht* they had given up by agreement to the *Spaniards*. That it was impossible for them to leave their allies, who, under God, had saved their States from absolute ruin; but whatever terms of peace they would consent to, would satisfy the States. That they believed *Spain* would be moderate, and though their treaty with that Crown, obligeth them to the terms of the *Pyrenees*, yet there is a clause, which alloweth it to be altered by consent: that they apprehend *Sweden* as too partial to *France*, but are content to make his Majesty arbiter in all their affairs; and to this end, that they were resolved to accept of the mediation, were willing that *London* should be the place of congress, and that they would leave it to his Majesty there, either to propose the scheme of a peace himself, or to retrench and adjust, according to his prudence and equity, what propositions should be made on each side by the parties themselves: that they would perform all the offices they could, to induce the *Emperor* and *Spain* to agree with them in these points, both by the States writing effectually to their Ministers in those two Courts, and by his speaking earnestly, both with the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Ministers here. That he was satisfied how safe their interest would lye in his Majesty's hands; and that this State would ever make it their endeavour to deserve the friendship and protection of the Crown of *England*; by which they knew it could best be preserved, as well as it had at first been raised.

After this conference with the Pensioner, I thought it best to neglect no time in the delivery of my letters,
and

and so went that evening to the President of the *week* and put into his hands, both that of credence, and the other of mediation ; which were both received by him, with great applauses upon the subject of the peace, and the recovery of his Majesty's favour and friendship to this State.

Upon *Sunday* afternoon, the President, to whom I had delivered my letters, came to me, and told me, he was ordered by the States-General to attend me with the account of their having perused his Majesty's letters : upon the first, he made me their compliments, which being chiefly personal, need no relation. Upon the letters which carried his Majesty's offer of mediation, he said, without doubt, the States would receive it with joy and with thanks ; but being engaged to several allies, they could not do it, without first communicating it to them ; which they would do immediately and in such manner, as they questioned not to induce them to accept it too. I told him, that the *Emperor* and *Spain* having put their delay in accepting of it upon their allies, by whom I understood the States to be meant ; I expected, at least, that the States would have accepted it, as to themselves, or their part in the quarrel. But he said, that itself could not be done by their agreement, without a communication, which they hoped his Majesty would not interpret ill, since it could produce but the delay of some few days, and was meant to extend the acceptance of their allies. I desired him to let the States know, however, what I had expected in this point ; and asked him, whether they would not have been glad, that upon his Majesty's offer of mediation to all the parties, *France* had refused it, or made difficulties upon it, and the confederates had accepted it with the best grace that could be ? He confessed, he would : upon which, I told him, then they had reason to be sorry, that just the contrary had happened.

He

He seemed to be touched, and said, he would likewise report this to the States.

I have not since been able to see the Pensioner, nor the President of the *week*; and therefore shall only say in general, that though the assurances I received from the first, and the account I had from the last, seem a little different; yet I am confident, his Majesty may reckon, that an obstruction of the peace will not arise from hence. For, besides the general dispositions and interests of traders, and the jealousies natural between the civil and military power; I find their payments are on all hands too great, to be long continued; their hopes are very moderate from the successes of their armies or fleets; and I see no advantages, that they propose to themselves, though both should prosper, besides the running *France* a little more out of breath; so that the peace may be probable to last the longer.

I find the Pensioner is the great man here, and acts all under the Prince's influence, though not without some distaste among the richer sort of people in the towns. He is a person whose dispositions may, I am confident, be improved, to make him as partial to *England*, as those of his predecessor were esteemed to *France*, in case there were any competition of those two interests here. The point upon which I judge this to turn chiefly, is that of religion, in which I find him, by his discourses, very warm; and hear by others, that he hath it very much at heart.

I am ever, Sir,

Your most, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

May it please your Highness, Hague, August 1. 1674.

THough I could not kiss your Highness's hands, in the way I desired, immediately upon my arrival here; yet I could not forbear the doing of it this way, upon the very first occasion; and assuring your Highness, with how much ambition, both of attending and serving you, I enter upon this employment; which without those motives would be but a point of mere obedience, and not at all of inclination. This, I am sure, your Highness will believe, when I have the honour of entertaining you upon those points, wherein his Majesty has pleased to instruct me, and which makes me so impatient to attend you, that I shall not stay to satisfy the forms here but only to recover health enough for another journey and passage of sea, that used me very ill. I hope this will happen within a day or two, and give me the occasion both of acquitting myself of his Majesty's commands, and of expressing some part of that devotion wherewith I have been so long, and shall be ever,

SIR,

Your Highness's, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Hague, August 18. 1674.

May it please your Highness,

WHatever the successes of the late battle have been, or the consequences shall prove, your Highness may be content to hear from a plain man, and who has no vein of flattery about him, that the accounts of your friends, your allies, and your enemies,

mies, how much soever they differ on other points, yet agree perfectly in giving your Highness all the applauses and renown upon this occasion, that are due to the greatest Captain and boldest soldier. I cannot but give your Highness the joy of it, and put you in mind, at the same time, how reasonable it is, that in such adventures hereafter, you should manage your life something the better, for having managed your glory so well in this*. 'Tis not fit to give your Highness longer interruptions, and therefore I shall end this, with my wishes for your safety, since those for your fortunes, and honour, have succeeded so well. I am ever with that devotion and truth which become me,

S I R,

Your Highness's most humble
and most obedient servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, September 4. N. S. 1674.

I Was very glad to find, by yours of the 11th past, the good intentions, with which the Marquis de Fresno parted from you. If he can infuse them into the Ministers at Madrid, it will be a great point gained toward the peace, and such as joined to the dispositions we shall meet here, will not leave room for the imperial councils to avoid the progress of it. In the discourses I hold here upon this subject with the chief persons of the States, when I tell them, how the peace is like to be hindered by interests wholly foreign to theirs, it is grown a common word among them, *Je ne dis mot, mais je voudrois fort la paix*: and you may certainly reckon upon all that can be done towards it from hence, when this campaign ends; and before that, I am apt

to

* The battle of Seneffe.

to think so much that nothing will be done, as to believe, the less 'tis offer'd at, the better. Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* left the Prince in the belief, that there would be another battle: and they tell me here, there is some great design resolved of by the confederates, which must be suddenly executed; because all agree, that the Imperial troops have orders to march towards the *Rhine* by the middle of next month. Sir *Gabriel* tells me likewise, that to his coming away, he asked the Prince, whether he would be willing I should come to him any where, while he continued in the field? but that his Highness answered, *Qu'il seroit fort éloigné, & ces marches incertaine, que la campagne s'acheroit bientôt, & qu' alors il me verroit à la Haye.* Notwithstanding all this, which is no more than I have known long enough; yet I have so well followed your Lordship's advice, in understanding what had passed, just as the Prince was willing I should, that I am pretty confident I shall be as well with him at his return, as the king can wish, for the advance of the service I have in charge. I am assured by one, to whom Monsieur *de Marestes* (the French Minister here, who has great credit with the Prince) told it a little before his Highness left the *Hague*, that upon discourse, in private, concerning the affairs of *England*, and my coming over, the Prince said, *Qu'il avoit telle opinion de ma probité qu'il croyroit tout ce que je lui dirois là dessus:* what the late accident between us may have produced, I know not; but by a letter I received this morning, in answer to one I wrote upon the late fight, I could not believe any thing amiss there. I send your Lordship a copy of it, because this is his own, though the last might very well be another style, as you guessed.

I likewise inclosed what I said to the *States* at my audience, which I hope his Majesty will find conformable to what he intended, which I should be glad to know: and for the rest of the troublesome ceremony, I will only

ly tell you; that it passed very well on all sides; and I am sure on mine, with a great deal more expence, than any embassy I have ever seen here; which (considering the course of my natural humour, when I am private) his Majesty may very well attribute to the regard of his honour; that ought to be the greater, the worse I found the representations made from *England* hither, of the posture of our affairs, and especially of the revenue. After this, I am like to be idle for a month or six weeks, that is till the return of the Prince; and if I am left to my self, I will not be too busie; which is a part rather over-acted by my brother-Ambassador here, upon the point of mediation, and is grown to be taken for so much, of little to the purpose. But when the Prince comes, if his Majesty gives me leave to take my times and ways, and continues in the mind I left him, of desiring such a peace as might leave *Flanders* defensible, and can but procure powers from *Spain* to any person within my reach here; I am pretty confident, by all the prospects I have on every side, that it will be a business within compass. I am not less confident of setting all things right between his Majesty and the Prince, and thereby preventing the seeds of any future mischiefs in the Royal family; both which works, I desire you will assure his Majesty, shall be pursued with all my skill and industry, and in the ways I conceive most conducing to their success; and if I have the honour of atchieving them, it will be enough for such a life as mine. And the King will then give me leave, I hope, to go and sleep at home, and live my son in the busie world, which requires men spirited with some other heats, than I have about me. If upon his coming over, you can find any thing you would have said to me, tho' he be young, yet I am pretty confident, he may be trusted with it; for he has a good plain steddy head, and is desirous to do well.

I do not trouble you with any current news, having cast a digestion of all that occurs here of that kind upon my secretary; as being unwilling to answer for what one hears, though perhaps it may be fit to tell, with the very uncertainties that attend it. However, I take care, he shall be as well informed, as can be compassed in this place.

I am ever, most affectionately,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Hague, Sept. 4. N. S. 1674.*
I Know so well how many necessary troubles attend so great persons as your Lordship, that I have been very unwilling at all to increase them by any that are unnecessary from hence; and such, I was sure, all must be that come this way, since your Lordship has whatever you are content to be troubled with of my constant dispatches to Mr. Secretary. However, I could not satisfy myself to be wholly out of your memory, and therefore resolved to make an ill way to it, rather than none; tho' I had much rather put in my claim to it, by serving your Lordship, than by troubling you. The dispositions here are strong towards a peace, and, I hear, they are not weak in *France*. *Spain* would be glad to make a good war, but fears an ill one: which by the division of their councils and Ministers, may well fall to their share. The Emperor is most eager of the four, to keep up the ball, being armed at others cost, and growing into greater consideration by it at home, whatsoever he does abroad. *Sweden* would, I believe, be glad to draw the stakes they have in their keeping, without entering into the game; and though they have treaties concluded with *France*, and begin to arm with their money, yet they press on the mediation

tion with all the instances they can, in hope that way to excuse themselves from any share in this year's action. *Denmark* only observes the motion of that Crown, and will be ever in the other scale.

The Prince of *Orange* is, I doubt, resolved to have more honour yet before this campaign ends, though he had his full share of it in the last action of *Seneffe*, and more than his share of the danger. This makes us here expect another battle or siege very suddenly; and while so great adventures are stirring, no man can judge of the events of the year. I inclose a copy of what I said to the *States* last week, at my public audience, that your Lordship may judge whether it be conformable to his Majesty's intentions, which you are better acquainted with.

Among the many pieces of justice your Lordship does every day to indifferent men, I hope you will not refuse me that of believing me always what I am with passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

and most humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR,

Hague, Sept. 17. N. S. 1674.

THIS day I received a visit from the Pensioner, wherein he told me, first, that by letters from *Vienna* he had great hopes given him, that his Majesty's mediation would be accepted by that Court, and that this advice was seconded by the Emperor's Ministers here; though he said, he found by both, that his Majesty's subjects having had so great a share in the last action between Monsieur *Turenne* and the Imperial forces, was taken very unkindly by that Court, and other

other Princes of the Empire. He told me besides, that he had a particular advice from the *States* Ministers at *Vienna*, that Monsieur *Puffendorf*, the *Swedish* Envoy there, endeavoured under-hand all he could, to hinder the accepting his Majesty's mediation by that Court, which he (the Pensioner) could not apprehend the reason of; unless it were, that the *Swedes* had no mind to see the present game end, without making yet some more advantages of it; or that they had a desire to remain the sole arbiter of the *Munster* peace; whereas the interpretation of some articles of it might be referred to his Majesty, in case his mediation should now be accepted by the Empire. But upon this point the Pensioner concluded, that if this matter should be much longer delayed, by either the Court at *Vienna*, or *Madrid*, this State would let them know, that they absolutely accepted his Majesty's mediation, which he did not doubt would be followed by a concurrence from them both.

After this, he told me, that upon the representations he had made to the Prince of what had passed between us here upon the subject of the peace, he had received orders from his Highness to come to me, and desired to know more particularly what his Majesty's intentions were in this matter, and upon what terms his Majesty desired the peace should be made; and to assure me, that when he knew them, his Highness would endeavour that this *State* should comply all that could be with them; and that, as to what concerned themselves, he knew they would be content to leave all to his Majesty's own arbitrage; and he did not doubt, though they could not treat apart from their allies, yet they might go a great way in disposing them to receive any overture that should be made of a safe and lasting peace. He told me farther, that his orders from the Prince were to enter into this matter only with me, and without the communication of their
Ambassadors

Ambassadors in *England*, because he thought it was the better, the fewer hands it passed.

I told the Pensioner, I would not fail letting his Majesty know all that he had said to me from the Prince, and returning him an answer more particularly, so soon as I received it: in the mean time, I was sure, that it would be taken kindly by his Majesty: and that the more confidence he expressed of the King's kindness to him, as well as of his justice in the business of the mediation, the more reason he would have to rely upon both. That for the terms of the peace, I could only say in general, that his Majesty desired, as well as they, that it might be lasting and safe, being equally concerned in preserving *Flanders*, which was only in danger: but for particulars, I thought it was not the part of a Mediator to propose the terms, but rather receive such as should be proposed by both parties, and endeavour to agree them, by moderating what should seem excessive, and finding expedients for what was difficult in either of these demands. That on the *French* side, all being in the hands of one Prince, it might be resolved in a day; but the interests and intentions of several confederates, were harder to agree upon; and therefore, I thought the propositions towards a peace ought to begin from thence; which, if his Majesty were once possessed of, he would endeavour to make them go, as far as they could with *France*: therefore I told him, that as I would transmit to his Majesty the Prince's desire of knowing the King's intentions in this matter; so they ought to know what terms *Spain* proposed to themselves, after a campaign past, with so great expectation, and so little advantage on the confederate side.

The Pensioner told me, I had reason in all I said, and that he would speak with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, who he found had so much credit in his Court, that he had never yet been disavowed in any thing he had undertaken

undertaken for. He said, he knew it was a disadvantageous time for them to talk of a peace now, but that, he hoped, they might yet have some success before the campaign ended; which he desired for nothing so much, as for the sooner obtaining the peace; since it might look unreasonable for them to demand the restitution of places conquered in *Flanders* last war; and yet it was absolutely unsafe for them to have that country in the posture it was upon the treaty of *Aix*; that if this could be admitted, they were sure of the peace; for he had received new instances from the Count *d'Esstrades*, by the Pensioner of *Mastricht*, who had been with him again that very morning, and assured him, that what the Count proposed, was not only from himself, but by orders from his Master; and hereupon he repeated to me what I wrote to you before of that proposition, which was grounded upon the treaty of *Aix*, the restoring commerce to the *State* as it was in 1662; and *Mastricht* to the Prince of *Orange*, but not to the *Spaniard*. From this he fell into the scheme of their present affairs, assuring himself of *Grave* in a fortnight's time; of the Imperial army on the *Rhine* growing very strong, and Monsieur *Turenne's* very weak; as likewise Monsieur *Schomberg's* in *Roussillon*, where the campaign was but now beginning; and for the rest, excusing, as well as he could, the ill success of their fleet under Monsieur *de Ruyter*, and saying they should draw four thousand men out of it, upon their coming home, for re-inforcing their armies: and a great deal of this kind, which signified no more, than the resolution of making the rest of this campaign.

In the mean time, his Majesty has it in his choice, to open a negotiation of the peace, either by telling them here his own thoughts or intentions, as to the terms of it; or else, by receiving from them such propositions

propositions upon it, as may be first digested here between Don *Emanuel de Lyra* and the Pensioner ; and this I shall endeavour all I can, to bring to some head ; and, let it be as rough as it will at first, it will be the proper part of a Mediator afterwards to work it into the best form, that it is capable of receiving. For this end, I am resolved to find out some expedient or other to meet with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, who hath not yet seen me, upon the points of ceremony that lie between our characters. For the present, I shall only say, upon the whole matter, that, I believe, in case *France* can be induced to leave such a frontier in *Flanders*, as may be thought defensible, and so leave no suspicions of their design to begin a new war when they are in a better posture, and these countries in a worse, to pursue it ; the business of the peace will hardly fail, nor any interest, either private or foreign, prevail with this *State* to go on with the war. But, on the other side, if this point cannot be gained, I believe, the dispositions here, how passionate soever towards a peace, will not have the force to bring it about ; but that they will rather content themselves to lessen their own charge, by setting out no more fleets, and only maintaining a body of five and twenty or thirty thousand men at land, which, as auxiliary forces, may, upon occasion, join with the Imperial or *Spanish* troops, who shall be left as principal in the war. I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, *Hague, September 13. N. S. 1674.*

IN one of my late letters I gave you notice of the many complaints made me by the *English* merchants here, concerning the seizure of their ships by the *French* and *Spanish* privateers, to the great discouragement of our trade, and damage of his Majesty's subjects. The merchants here were not content, it seems, with the promises I made them, of representing this matter to the King; but have since sent me a formal petition upon this subject, (which I here inclose) and written to me, at the same time, a very earnest letter, to recommend it to your favour, which I could not refuse to do, believing it indeed myself to be a business of the same consequence they represent it, and therefore, very well worthy of his Majesty's consideration. For the matter of passes, mentioned in their petition, I have hitherto refused to give them, as having received no orders in that point; though the merchants here pretend to have notice from *England*, that such orders have been transmitted to me. When they come, I shall obey them; but in the mean time have excused myself, notwithstanding all their importunity.

I shall increase this trouble no farther, than by my professions of being always,

SIR,

Your most faithful

humble servant.

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, *Hague, October 5. N. S. 1674.*

I Have none from you of late to acknowledge, and doubt I lie too much out of your way, to expect any longer the honour of that correspondence, with which my employment here began, and which I esteemed one of the best circumstances that attended it. Sir *Joseph Williamson* gave me notice last post, both of his promotion, and of the affairs of this Province being fallen under his care; as likewise, of what commands his Majesty had that day ordered to be transmitted to me; whereupon I make him this day the usual dispatch in return. I know not whether by this change you will be able to get wholly out of my reach; because you know, 'tis hard for a man to lose a good haunt, or an ill custom; and I shall not be content to forfeit the profession of your favour or memory, for want of sometimes laying claim to it. I must, however, rejoice with you upon your removal to better climates, and more prosperous scenes; especially at a time, when the affairs of this have so very ill an aspect, by the dissentions and distrusts among the Generals of the confederates; which, I may tell you, are to the last degree, and the most criminal; and such, as have not only ruined their affairs this campaign, but must do so, while these men are in play. I will not give you both a long and an unnecessary trouble: what use you will make of me here, and in what degree, shall be in your own disposal; for no man is with more truth nor esteem than I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, *Hague, October 5. N. S. 1674.*
THough I gave you joy of the Secretary's place before I came away, and desired your protection, as looking then upon it as a thing done; yet finding by the last ordinary, that you were but now newly entered upon the actual possession of it, I could not forbear renewing the expressions that become me upon both those subjects; and wishing you the honour, and his Majesty the service, that you both propose to yourselves by this promotion. I know very well, the compliments I can make you, will be lost, as they deserve, among many others you will receive upon this occasion: and therefore I shall not increase them, or give a long and unnecessary interruption in the midst of so much and so various business, as must have fallen upon you with this advancement; but shall end this trouble with the professions of my being,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the PRINCE.

Hague, October 15. N. S. 1674.
 May it please your Highness,

I Cannot forbear rejoicing with your Highness, upon your nearer approach to these countries, and wishing you all success in the designs that have brought you where you are, and hindered your coming farther at present, though your Highness's person may be necessary here, as well as in other places. In my last, I gave your Highness an account of what I said to the States at my audience, and therein the general scope

of my present embassy, as to what concerns his Majesty's dispositions, both in relation to his own peace with these countries, and to the general peace of *Christendom*. Your Highness will have received, before this comes to you, from his Majesty's own hands, and at length, what you could desire more of his particular kindness to your Highness's person and interests, and of his intentions upon the subject of the peace, both as to the preservation of *Flanders*, and *guaranty* of the peace, if it were once concluded, towards which your Highness must furnish the first materials.

If, upon this occasion, your Highness has any commands to lay upon me, I should be very glad to know, whether you please to have me attend them here, till your return to this place, or think fit to convey them to me by Monsieur *Fagel*, or any other person; or whether you will command me to wait upon you at any place or time you shall please to appoint: in the mean time, I pray God continue your Highness's health and safety, according to the constant wishes of,

SIR,

Your Highness's, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Haguen, October 16. N. S. 1674.

THE last pacquets brought me yours of the 29th past which was in all parts of it both useful and welcome to me, excepting only the excuses it began with, upon the arrears you mention, of so many letters during your illness and absence from town. How unnecessary any such expressions were to me, you will easily judge, by my having continued constantly

constantly the course of writing, whenever I had any occasion ; which I did, and shall do, upon the belief you are content it should be so, whether you write or no, till you discourage me in it. I was very glad to find by the style of your letter, that your health was grown better, and your temper not at all worse, since the ill accidents that have lately fallen out ; enough, indeed, to shake them both, if they had not been firm at bottom. The best wish I can make you, is, that you may long enjoy and continue them both, especially that *aquam rebus in arduis servare mentem* ; which I take to be either the best profession we bring with us into the world, or the best acquisition we can make while we are in it.

I must acknowledge the honour his Majesty does me, and, indeed, the credit he thereby gives me with the Prince, by the communication of what was the substance of his last letter ; which, I think, was the rightest understood that could be, and cannot but produce some good effect ; either by procuring a direct answer from the Prince, upon the main point ; or, at least, by introducing me, in the very best manner, into the overtures and negotiation of it, when I see the Prince, which cannot be far off. In the mean time, I have immediately, upon the receipt of yours, written to his Highness just the points you directed me in ; and, in a manner, the very terms you give me ; desiring to know, whether he will have me attend his return hither ; or send me his commands by Monsieur *Fagel*, or any other person ; or have me wait upon him in any place, or time, he shall please to command.

I have never heard from him, since I gave his Highness an account of what I said to the *States* at my audience ; and therein the scope of his Majesty's dispositions concerning the peace, with the offers of his mediation ; which made me think he would be stanch in all that matter, till the campaign ended ; and, perhaps, the
colder

colder he is, the less he should be pressed, till the course of things, and occasions bring him about, and dispose him, rather to solícite his Majesty's offices, than decline them. This, I believe, may happen at his return hither; especially if *Grave* should be taken; which would still increase the violent inclinations to the peace, which grow every day in these Provinces; especially that of *Holland*, and most of all, in the town of *Amsterdam*, which begins to apprehend a loss of trade, that will be hardly recovered, after any long course into another channel.

By what I can find, from *Don Emanuel de Lyra*, the dispositions at *Madrid* are strong towards a peace too, so it might leave no prospect of a new war; and though I suspect the intentions at *Vienna*, upon the Emperor's power at home, as well as his consideration abroad, encreasing so much, and so evidently, by the war; yet, knowing how absolutely that Court most depend upon *Spain* and *Holland*, from whom they draw the subsidies that maintain their armies; I am of opinion, that not only his Majesty's mediation would be easily accepted by all parties; but the absolute arbitrage of all matters in difference would be left in his hands, in case the confederates were but possessed with an opinion of his Majesty's being impartial in the matter; to which, I hope, his last discourse with the Marquis *de Fresno*, and letter to the Prince, may have a great deal contributed.

The Emperor's Resident here, told me two days since, that Court was resolved to accept his Majesty's mediation; *Mais toujours sous l'aveu de l'Espagne*: and that they were upon choice of a person, to be sent over suddenly, with public character into *England*. The *Dutch* Minister writes to the *States*; that the Emperor will not accept the mediation, till his Majesty's forces are recalled out of *France*: but the Resident there says, there is no such condition mentioned; though

though he adds, modestly, it would be a great inducement to the Emperor, and help to satisfy the Princes of *Germany*, with the Emperor's coming to that resolution; who took it to heart, to see such a body of *English*, *en tous les démêlés durant toute cette campagne*. Besides, I must needs tell you, that the *Dutch* Ambassadors have made such representations of the dispositions and intentions of our Court being so absolutely in favour of *France*, that they are very apt here to interpret the instances we make towards a peace, to be concerted with *France*; and some of them tell me plainly and frankly, they knew the King would not make them, if *France* did not desire the peace, and find it necessary for their affairs. When I say, their Ambassadors, I do not mean Monsieur Odyke, nor what they have written since his being there: but I reflected upon a passage, which one of the *States* told me, was in a late letter from the other Ambassadors, which was, *Monsieur Odyke nous assure, que le Roy a des fort bonnes dispositions pour nôtre Etat.*

The late action near *Strasbourg* will prove, I believe, at last, to have been a drawn business, and leave each party the pretence of a victory; as, I see, it has done of the field: I am sorry to hear his Majesty's subjects have suffered so much in it; and doubt it will make way for a greater battle shortly, in case the *Brandenburg* forces come up on the *Imperial* side; and both the troops of the *Ban*, and detachment from the Prince of *Condé*, on the *French*; both which, I find, are suddenly expected. They begin now to apprehend *Sweden's* entering into the war; which must engage *Denmark*, and open a greater, and longer scene, in all appearance: and leave his Majesty the only Mediator in so general a quarrel.

This

This is too long a letter, to one that is but newly recovered, and engaged in so many other thoughts; and yet it must not end, without my being ever,

Your most faithful

and humble servant.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 16. N. S. 1674.

THE bearer hereof, Mr. *Edmund Curtis*, has an opinion, that my recommendation may have some value with your Lordship: and I have too much vanity in this point to disabuse him. Your Lordship will, on the other side, I hope, do me so much justice, as to believe, I would employ my intercession to no man, but least of all to your Lordship, where I were not invited to it, by what I esteemed very evidently just and reasonable; as I do, indeed, think this affair: which is a demand of satisfaction from the town of *Newcastle*, for having saved their haven from being utterly spoiled; and by a piece of skill, peculiar to himself; which was the reason of his Majesty's commanding him down thither, upon that occasion. He is a person who has deserved well from his Majesty, in several matters; and in whose just support, I must confess to have concerned myself, especially his affairs of this nature; as having been the first that put him upon this invention of wreck-fishing, for the recovery of his Majesty's tin, cast away before *Ostend* in the year 1666, which he performed with great success; as he has done several others likewise since, upon his Royal Highness's patent for fifteen years; and a contract his Highness commanded me to make with him in 1669: and upon which, I doubt not, but he would have made greater advantages to himself, than he demands

56 LETTERS of Sir William Temple;

mands from the town of *Newcastle*; besides considerable ones to the Duke this summer, if this pursuit had left him in purse, and at liberty. Your Lordship's favour and countenance to him in this affair, which I left his Majesty very much inclined to, will, I am sure, agree with your eminent justice in all other cases; and will do me a great deal of honour, in letting him see, that you are pleased to own me, for,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Privy Seal.

My Lord, *Hague, October 16. N. S. 1674.*
THE bearer hereof, Mr. *Edmund Curtis*, having an affair depending before the council, with the town of *Newcastle*, for satisfaction of clearing and saving their harbour, by a piece of skill peculiar to himself; which was the cause of his Majesty's sending him thither, to that purpose. He has desired me to recommend him to your Lordship's just protection: and I was very glad of an occasion of pretending thereby to be in some degree of your Lordship's favour; and of supporting, as far as I could, a man I have known long, and a case I esteem very just; and, at the same time, of professing myself,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

bumble servant.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, October 26. N. S. 1674.

MY letters could never pretend more than your Lordship's pardon, and have had too great a return, in the honour I received of one from your Lordship, intended me by my son; who, I doubt, will be grown too proud, by your Lordship's owning him: but he is young, and may live to deserve some place in your service; which when you please to allow him, I shall own him no longer, than while he acquits himself well. I should be extremely glad to receive the smallest command from your Lordship, in that particular you please to mention, or any other; that so by my diligence in small ones, I may deserve greater; and thereby find some better ways of acknowledging the favours I have received; and the troubles I have given your Lordship, than by increasing them.

The notices you please to command from time to time, of any thing that happens extraordinary, shall not fail you. As to the inquiries in your last, concerning the dispositions to a peace, and their tampering with *France*; I may assure your Lordship, that the first grow very violent; and will, I believe, appear so more, if they come to be masters of *Grave*, where they are engaged, both upon honour, and revenge of so many men as it has cost them; and being the only place of theirs, remaining among the *French* conquests (since they have, by treaty, quitted *Mastricht* to the *Spaniards*) whenever they recover it, they will, I believe, begin to play the Mediators in the rest of the quarrel. But that which makes the bent of the people in general so passionate for a peace, is the unmeasurable burden of their taxes; and the interest of the trading towns, that say, upon all occasions, there is

none gets by this war but *England*; and that, if it should continue a year or two longer, the general course of trade would run so far into our channel, that they should be in danger never to recover it. Besides, the rich men here are generally of the *Arminian* party, and jealous of the Prince's greatness, which must increase by a war. So as all these humours flowing together, make a current that nothing can stem, but the force of their engagements to their confederates; and of their interest in preserving of *Flanders*, to such a degree, and in such a posture, as may leave *France* without the design of another war that way; or, in case they attempt it, may prove a strong bulwark to these countries, and easily defensible by their assistances, without entering as principals into the war.

By this your Lordship will easily conclude, that no obstruction to the peace is like to come from hence; but from *Spain*, or the *Emperor*. For *Spain*, their government is so broken, by the faction of the Ministers, and minority of their King, that they find themselves very unfit for any great action in the world; and so would, I am confident, be very glad of a peace; provided it might leave them out of fear of another invasion from *France*; and so they may neither be compelled to so vast an expence, as the maintaining of great armies in time of peace, nor despair of defending their country, whenever a war should begin: and they think neither of these can be brought about by a peace, upon the terms of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; which left *Flanders* neither of a size to keep great armies, nor of a figure to be defended by small.

For these reasons, though the want of success this campaign has made them, I believe, willing to come to a peace, much under the terms of the *Pyrenees*; which were fixed by the confederates, upon the last treaty between the house of *Austria* and this State; yet, I doubt, they will rather try another campaign, upon

upon the hopes of what their present conjunction may yet produce, than end the war just where it begun.

For the Emperor, I doubt more the dispositions to a peace on his side, than any of the rest; finding himself powerfully armed, and at others cost; and thereby his consideration growing greater every day in the empire, whatever it does abroad. Besides, whatever battles may cost, the resources of men are so great in *Germany*, that they can never fail, whilst *Spain* and *Holland* can furnish the money: or the several circles of the empire continue animated in the quarrel. Besides, the Emperor foresees himself engaged in a war with *France*, upon the succession of *Flanders*, if the King of *Spain* should fail without issue; and, therefore, had rather drive on the war, till he can see *Flanders* secured, and *Lorraine* in safe hands, than leave those points to be disputed by a new war, at a time, perhaps, when he may not find himself so strong; either in confederates abroad, or the concurrence at home of the several Princes and circles; nor so disengaged from the *Turk*, or the troubles of *Hungary* at his back.

For the Princes of the empire, though they seem a good deal spirited in the present quarrel, by the late invasions of *France*, and the exchange of many cruelties between the two nations in the *Palatinate*; and by the possessions given them of the safety, as well as honour of *Germany*, being engaged in this war; yet, I believe, after the first heat is over, the dissensions natural to bodies that have so many heads, the jealousy of too great a growth of the Emperor's power, and the fear of drawing the *Swedes* again into the war, or spoils of *Germany*, will incline them generally enough to a peace, and without straining further than the treaty of *Munster*; beyond which *France* has not pretended any design, that I remember in the course of the war.

For

For *Sweden*, I look upon them as engaged with *France* by treaty and money ; both already received, and more lying ready at *Hamburg*, upon their entering into action : which, I believe, they will be glad to avoid, at least, for this year, if they can any way excuse it to *France* : and this makes them so earnest upon the mediation, and use so great instances towards agreeing a place of *congress* ; which might look like the beginning of treaty, and make their offices in it pass for some satisfaction of what they owe to *France*. If they engage in the war, they will, I believe, try to set the Bishop of *Munster* again upon his legs : and, on the other side, the King of *Denmark* will join with the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, to make head against *Sweden*, in these western parts of the Empire.

For these *States* tampering with *France* ; all I have found of it with certainty, I gave notice to the Secretaries about six weeks since ; which was a negotiation begun by the Count *d'Estrades*, Governor of *Mastricht*, and formerly in the service and ambassage of this country. He assured the Pensioner here, of his Master's restoring, not only the *Grave* but *Mastricht* too, provided it might not be given to the *Spaniards* : of returning all points of commerce to the State they were in by the treaty of 1662 : of advancing all that could be any interests and advantages of the Prince, upon a treaty ; and of making the peace with *Spain* upon the terms of *Aix la Chapelle*. Tho' I saw a very earnest letter upon this occasion, in general, from the Count *d'Estrades* himself ; yet no particulars have passed further, than between the Pensioner here, and the person to whom it was writ, and who was sent to him from *Mastricht* : and the last answer I could hear of, was, that, when they saw any thing in writing, they would give an answer to it. Upon the whole, I do not doubt, of this State's having very advantageous terms from

from *France*, if they would make a peace separate from their allies ; but I see not how that can be done, either with honour or safety, considering the opinion they have of our new intelligence with *France*, even in all our offers of mediating the peace ; and which their Ambassadors in *England* have long infused into them. On the other side, the dispositions on all hands considered, I am confident, if the confederates were possessed with any belief of his Majesty's being impartial in the business, they would not only accept his mediation, but wholly remit their differences to his arbitration.

I beg your Lordship to believe, I do not intend you many such troubles, or would have given you this, without your encouraging me : and that by opening the scene for once, your Lordship might the better judge, as any actors come in, what paces they are like to make.

I beg your Lordship's pardon, and the belief of my being, with great passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, November 6. N. S. 1674.

I Was extremely glad to find by your's of the 20th and 30th past, that his Majesty had resolved to support me in the claim I had made here of a free trade for all our ships, and the merchandize they carry (if not counterband) without any exception of their trading from one enemy's port to another ; which cannot, I am sure, be drawn from the words of the articles. This made me confident, even before the arrival of your letters, by a second memorial to the *States General,*

General, to demand the restitution of the *Rebecca*; and to tell them, very plainly, that, if any doubt might arise upon the sense of any article in treaties subsisting between his Majesty and them, it could not be resolved without his Majesty's consent; and till that was obtained, they could not make themselves the sole judges or interpreters against the plain common sense of any words, and to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects. This was the point I put all the weight upon in my memorial; but having the day after received his Majesty's pleasure, with your account of what had passed here in your return this way, and your arguments upon this subject; I demanded an hour of the Pensioner, and run through a very long debate with him upon this matter. The heads of his arguments were, the judgment, he pretended, of several authors upon the point: the practice of *France* and *Spain*, and *Sweden* with them, and ours, in the time of his late Majesty and King *James*; which he undertook to give me examples of: and, lastly, that it could not be the meaning to drive an enemy's trade, but only to preserve a friend's. I easily eluded this last, by the answer you made it, and by my own very true protestations, that at my signing the confirmation of those articles, I had no such sense of them, as he would now give them; but took the meaning of them to be just the same with the words: that free ships made free goods, in all cases, unless that of counterband. For the sense of authors writing upon general *themes*, and for their own credit, or that of their professions, I said, they could not be admitted to interpret any particular treaties between Princes and States; who might make what agreement they pleased between themselves, and very different from what authors call *jus gentium*, or general reason; by which, I think, they commonly mean their own; that, for the practice of other Kings with them

them, it was no rule of theirs with his Majesty ; nor any agreement, that we should not have justice from them, because they could not obtain it from others : but, on the contrary, though they had it not, yet they ever demanded it both of *France* and *Spain* ; which was a certain proof, that they esteemed that just in their own case, which they will not allow to be so in ours : that, for the practice he offered to produce on our parts, in his late Majesty's time, I should be content to see it, but could not tell how it could square with the present case ; since it was grounded upon articles never in force between his Majesty and this State, till the treaty of *Breda*. I added to what I said in my memorial, how unjust their pretences were, to make a wrested interpretation of plain words, without his Majesty's consent : that it was not fair to do it at a time, when the advantage of such an article was only cast on our side by the common revolutions of war and peace, which might be in their favour to-morrow, as they were in ours to-day ; whereas, when the advantage was, by like accidents, cast on their side, as it had been with *France* and *Spain*, they had ever insisted on the very same point that we do now, and never given over the instances upon it, whether they received satisfaction or no. After a long and a warm debate, I gained this from the Pensioner ; that, for his own part, he was content it should be as I desired it, since the King understood it so, and it was to be reciprocal between us : that he could do nothing upon it in the *States General*, till the *States of Holland* assembled, which would be about a fortnight hence : that he would then propose it there, and endeavour their compliance with his Majesty, especially if the Prince, at his return, approved of it ; and that in the mean time, he would endeavour to have the goods in the *Rebecca*, or the product of them, deposited, till the *States* came to a resolution in this matter ;
the

the ship itself being already free and gone, pursuant to a resolution taken by the *State* in *May* last upon this point.

I have been larger in stating this matter, as it stood between me and the Pensioner, that, being of so mighty importance to our trade at this time, his Majesty might both see the right he had on his side, and be the firmer in maintaining it: and you may please to instruct me in any further arguments, against I enter the lists with Commissioners here, if they should prove difficult, though the Pensioner be satisfied with it.

For the passes and orders to be sent with the ship of advice for *Surinam*, he assures me, they shall be ready against I receive the names of ship and person; but excuses their going with blanks, as a thing contrary to the constant forms of this State; which, indeed, I doubted of before, and therefore took the liberty to desire your instructing me thereupon as soon as you could.

Though the current news here be still favourable to the strength, or, at least, good countenance of the confederate troops in *Alsatia*; yet I saw a letter yesterday, from a very good hand, which makes a different story, and says, they had given over all thoughts of fighting Monsieur *Turenne*; and that though the *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh* troops talked of taking up their winter quarters in the *Upper Alsace*, while those of the Emperor and the other circles designed theirs in *Suabia*; yet it was believed at *Strasburgh*, Monsieur *Turenne* would still keep the field, and either engage the confederates, or else force them all to retire beyond the *Rhine*. All the countenance that has been made by the horse of the confederate armies in *Flanders*, has been, I suppose, only to keep the *French* a little alarmed, so as to send no more of their forces towards Monsieur *Turenne*. The Prince came to a house he is building in the Province of *Utrecht*, on *Sunday*, made a
great

great hunting party for yesterday, and intended to be here, as some say, to-day; but as others, not till *Thursday*, being the day after the bonfires intended for *Grave*. Yesterday were sent into my yard about forty pitch barrels upon this occasion, being said to be sent by order of the *States*; and the like, or in proportion, to other foreign Ministers; but I ordered them to be sent back, and told some of the *States*, that whenever I made any such fire, I would do it upon his Majesty's charge, and no others: that, in the mean time, I did not think fit to do it at all upon this occasion, when his Majesty had offered his mediation in a quarrel lying between two of his allies; and that it would not look like the part of a Mediator, to have his Minister thus concern himself in successes of either side. They pleaded an old form in this matter, and that it was intended to be done by those the *States* employed, and especially in the chief open places of the town. Upon which I told them, they might do it how they pleased, but that I should no way concern myself in it.

I ask your pardon for so long a trouble, which I shall end with the professions of my being always,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, Nov. 30. N. S. 1674.

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING seen the Prince twice since his return hither, and at leisure, I thought it became me to give your Majesty an account of what I could observe, as to his present dispositions, both in general, and more particularly, in what concerns your Majesty, and the

66 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

business of the peace. In general, I believe, he is pleased with the life he has led this summer, and loves the trade, and thinks himself better in health and humour, the less he is at rest: so that, I doubt, the motions towards peace must be made from his interests, rather than his inclinations. For what touches your Majesty, I find all the expressions of duty, and service and affection, to be such, as you can desire, and to have all the appearance that can be of sincereness and truth. And I believe them so the more, by his Highness's enlarging so much upon the interest of a near conjunction with your Majesty, and between the nations; which, he says, would make you both safe at home and abroad, and in need of no other alliances: and a great deal more of this kind.

For the business of the peace, though he complains very much of the ill performance of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists*, yet I find him positive upon these points: that this State can make no separate peace upon any terms that *France* can offer them: that a general peace cannot be made without leaving *Flanders* in a posture of defending itself from any new and sudden invasion of *France*, against which no guaranties could defend it: that *Spain* cannot quit the county of *Burgundy* nor *Gambray* upon any exchange; nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the terms of the *Pyrenees*, unless it be *Aire* or *St. Omer*. That he had written to your Majesty all he yet knew of the *Spaniards* intentions; but if he might know upon what terms you thought a peace reasonable, and desired it, he would do all in his power to bring it about, as he had done in the business of the mediation, which, he told me, was now accepted at *Madrid* as well as *Vienna*. When I said, your Majesty having been the author and guarand of the peace at *Aix*, and not having seen the *French* yet beaten out of any one town that was given them by that treaty, could with ill grace propose any thing to

France

France beyond those terms, or something equivalent; he said resolutely, that 'twere better going on with the war, let it last as long, and cost as much, as it would; and that he believed all men of any sense in this country were of the same mind. I told his Highness, that I doubted it, and wished, that, upon trial, he did not find it otherwise. But, seeing him unmovable upon these discourses, I turned them another way, and said, though your Majesty would omit nothing that became a Christian King and a friend to his Highness, in the good offices towards a peace; yet, if they were not understood to be so, your Majesty might perhaps content yourself to grow rich by the increase of your customs and of trade; and let them and their neighbours knock their heads together as long as they pleased. He smiled, and said, he believed so; and for that reason, I talked of terms which I knew the *Spaniards* could not accept of: and then he fell into talk, how easy it was for your Majesty to bring *France* to such a peace as you pleased, and how much it was your interest to leave *Flanders* safe; and many things upon that theme, that your Majesty hath heard enough of before from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*. The end was, that he would expect to know your Majesty's mind upon his last letter, to which he could add nothing till then. And I thought your Majesty by this account, and the knowledge of your mediation being accepted now by all parties, would the better resolve what step to make next in this matter; which was the occasion of this trouble. It is already too long but must not end, without the marks of that devotion wherewith I am,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject,

and most humble servant.

To

68 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,
To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Haguc, November 13. N. S. 1674.

I Have given his Majesty a particular account of the best observations I could make upon my first audience from his Highness, and a visit he has since made me; besides what I writ to Mr. Secretary *Williamson* the day of his Highness's arrival. By all which, you will judge what sort of dispositions you have to deal with in this Prince; little favourable, I doubt, to the designs of a general peace, as little inclined to the unactive life which such a scene must introduce. Besides, he finds his authority rise with his credit among the people here, by every small success of his arms, which is attributed personally to him; while the want of it in the confederate armies, is laid wholly upon the conduct or qualities of the other Generals. He hath a very good opinion of his own troops, and a very great one of the *Germans*; believes, if the Count *de Souches* had pleased, the Prince of *Condé* had been certainly beaten at *Seneffe*; and reckons, that by a better constitution of the Imperial Court and Ministers, the confederates may hope for more honour next campaign, than they had this. On t'other side, he thinks *France* will find it hard to furnish so many and so good men as *Germany*; and that if the confederates lose this conjuncture to free themselves and *Flanders* from any further fears that way, they are never to hope for another. Besides what I gather from myself, I hear, all that have attended his Highness this campaign agree, that he is pleased with the life, both the fatigue and the dangers he meets with, which have great effects upon the soldiers kindness to him, and must cost him but little, if it be true what the Ministers say, that he believes the point of predestination the firmest that ever any body did, and laughs at any of them, that speak modestly of it.

All

All these points look dangerous to the peace. Now those that look favourable, are, the general dispositions of the towns here, upon the point of trade; the jealousy of our getting into a possession of it too far to be retrieved; and, underhand, of the Prince's growing too far into the sole influence upon the State: the revolt of *Messina*, which, if it grows higher, and the contagion should reach *Naples*, as well as other parts of *Sicily*, (as is discoursed here) would make *Spain* glad to secure those parts, by the exposing of *Flanders*, a little more than they would otherwise be content to do: and, lastly, the engaging of *Sweden* in the party of *France*, by open action, (since the agreements between them are no longer, I think, any secret any where) which might change the scene in the affairs of *Germany*. I know not what to say to the talk here, that runs privately (but among persons of the State) of the conspiracy of Prince *Lobkowitz*, and others at *Vienna*, having reached as far as the Emperor's life; or, of the sharp resentments of that Court against *France*, upon such pretences. But I look for all the difficulties that can be given the peace from thence, upon several regards, which I have formerly touched, and am still as apprehensive of as before, by what I hear from all hands.

I thought it not unnecessary to mention all these points, that his Majesty might have the fullest light towards the first steps he shall make in this matter, after the acceptance of his mediation from all parts, and the answer he hath received from the Prince to his last letter upon this subject. And though, perhaps, his Majesty may not think fit to signify upon what terms he would have the peace made, as the Prince hath desired him; yet, since some ground to work upon will be expected from his Majesty, it may not be amiss to say, that upon such or such terms his Majesty hath some hopes of inducing *France* to an agreement, and
leave

70 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

leave the draught of them with the Prince of *Orange*, whose answer upon it will give, at least, some entrance into this negotiation.

I am ever, and very unfeignedly,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, December 4. N. S. 1674.

THE unkindness I complained of from your Lordship, in giving me no knowledge before hand of my Lord *Latimer's* journey, has been by his Lordship fully made amends for since: when upon his arrival he was so kind as to come straight away to my house, as to his own, and use it so, as he at least makes me believe; which I shall, I am sure, love him for as long as I live, and serve him as far as I shall ever be able, both for your Lordship's sake, and for his own. I waited upon his Lordship to the Prince, who received him not only well, but kindly; and I am sure, will use him so while he stays in this country. I knew the other * two Lords had no need of any introduction, though they were pleased to desire it, and therefore, by agreement between us, it was excused; and the two conferences they have had with his Highness have been without my intervention, or any other part, than what my Lord Chamberlain has since given me. By all I yet know, there is nothing deeper in this business, than what your Lordship was pleased to tell me, so frankly and so kindly in the letter I had the honour of receiving by my Lord *Latimer*; for which I return your Lordship my very hearty acknowledgements, as I am sure becomes me: and,

* Lord *Arlington* and Earl of *Ossory*.

I may say very truly, that the lights you pleased to give me there, were more than I have yet received any other way: for though I am told the main errand of the journey to be the same, as I received it from your Lordship; yet I hear nothing of a letter from the Prince to Monsieur *Odyke*, having given a rise to it; and, if your Lordship had not told me so, I should be apt to doubt it, and to believe, that other circumstances must have had their part in the first conception of this matter. I find by the Prince, as well as my Lord Chamberlain, that what your Lordship says only, you believe, is true, of their having no powers or instructions written, but a credential as ample and honourable as can be. And upon the first part that was given us hither of this intended journey, I remember the Prince told me, what your Lordship says with more ground, that he was sure Monsieur *Ruvigni* had his part in it. For what your Lordship says of these two Lords acquaintances and interests so great with the Prince, having occasioned the choice of their persons; all I know is, that if they doubted it, they did well to try; because friends that have been long asunder, know not how they are together till they meet, especially if they parted last, no better than I know some of these did.

Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that this business will produce no effect at all, proportioned to the noise it has made both in *England* and here; and that it may not go much farther than expostulations and compliments on both sides: and, perhaps, if it were upon any great business, the less of both might not be the worse. When I said compliments, I intended not such expressions of kindness as are not meant, but such as are more or greater than there is need of; and if what passes of this kind have no farther end than I know of, I cannot tell whether there has been any great occasion for them; since the Prince cannot say
much

much more than he has done to me ever since our meeting, of his affection and service to his Majesty. And on the other side, I take him to be an unmoveable person in all points of what he esteems his own honour and interest, and not to be talked into, or out of any points, where he esteems either of them much concerned.

This is all I can yet say upon this occasion, and may be too much to have troubled your Lordship with, had not you given me the encouragement. If I meet with any thing more important to your Lordship's knowledge, I shall make use of the way you present me by a servant of my Lord *Latimer's*, and should have been glad your Lordship had sent me a cypher over, which might have been necessary upon some occasions. My wife is your Lordship's most humble servant, and acknowledges the honour of your remembrance: we are both so to my Lady. My son will, I doubt, take notice of us no longer, having the honour of being absolutely retained in my Lord *Latimer's* service since his arrival here.

I will add no more to your Lordship's present trouble, besides the assurance, that the confidence your Lordship is pleased to use me with, shall never be forgotten, nor undeserved, as far as lies in the reach of so much sincereness and passion, as that wherewith I have always professed myself,

My Lord,

Yours, &c.

To

To the KING.

Hague, December 4. N. S. 1674.

May it please your Majesty,

I Received so great an honour by a letter which my Lord Chamberlain brought me from your Majesty, that I am sure I shall never forget it, whether I live to deserve it, or no. Though his Lordship might justly have pretended to my services here, from the friendship between us; yet, I hope, your Majesty believes your commands are so sacred to me, as to need no help from my inclinations to make them obeyed: and therefore I shall only say, that if his Lordship fails of any assistances or services that I can give him here, it shall be his own fault; since I resolve to go on as I have begun, in desiring from him the knowledge in what manner, and to what degree, he would use them. I esteem this journey of so great persons, and so much my friends, the best fortune, and most honour that could have befallen me in this place; and hope the success of it will be whatever your Majesty proposed to yourself by it: and beg your Majesty to believe, that so your business be well done, and your Majesty grow as great and as happy as I wish you, I shall have nothing left to ask for myself, by whose services soever that be achieved.

The two conferences my Lord Chamberlain hath had with the Prince, have passed by concert between his Lordship and me, without my intervention, or having had other part in them than what his Lordship has since given me. All the light I have offered to give to a person that knows his way so well, hath been only my opinion not to go too far in expostulations: for, besides what I know of the Prince's nature in that point, I have observed them apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends.

The knowledge of all worth your Majesty's trouble from hence, will, I know, be transmitted from my

Lord Chamberlain ; and leave me no other part, than that of my humble acknowledgments upon the confidence your Majesty has been pleased to express of me in so great occasions ; and the plain offers of that very sincere devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most loyal subject,

and most obedient

humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R, *Hague, December 21. N. S. 1674.*

UPon a long conference yesterday with the Deputies of the States, I agreed, in the first place, upon the instrument for continuing the marine treaty of 1668, until the expiring of the time appointed for the exchange of the ratifications of the last treaty concluded at London ; wherein I have pursued his Majesty's commands transmittated to me in your last, without reasoning at all upon them.

The instrument will, I hope, be signed before the closure of this dispatch ; and the publication of it made immediately here, as the notice of it is already sent to the Admiralties of the several Provinces. After our agreement upon this matter, we fell upon the several heads transmitted to me from the Commissioners of Plantations, upon the affair of Surinam. I obtained, in the first place, that new orders shall be sent to the Governor there, by the person to go along with the Advice yacht, and containing the very words transmitted to me in the last paper ; with the addition only, of using no threats to such as desire to stay : which I find my Lord Chamberlain, as well as I, understands to be agreeable to his Majesty's intentions.

In the next place, I gained the consent of all the Deputies, excepting him of *Zealand*, that his Majesty should send a man of war to convoy the three fly-boats, and lie out in the river till they were ready to return. And tho' the Deputy of *Zealand* would not absolutely consent, without the communication of the other Deputies of his province; yet he gave me reason to be confident the thing would be yielded to; though it passed with very much contest; not upon any jealousy, as they pretended, of his Majesty's good and fair intentions; but of such persons as might be employed in the execution of them: and thereupon would have entered into greater complaints of Major *Bannister* than he made of them; but that I cut them off as no part of my business.

After this, we fell upon the heads of the orders desired for the Commissioners his Majesty intended to send. Upon the second article they insisted, to have our riding in their rivers and creeks, and moving from place to place, to be with consent of their Governor. But I found this expedient, to have it only with his communication; which words are added to it upon the third article. The Deputy of *Zealand* affirming, that it sometimes happened, that there was so great a scarcity of some sorts of provisions, that they had not enough for the use of the colony; we added these words, that they might buy them at the usual rates, *en telle quantité que cela n'incommoderoit pas la colonie*. Upon the twelfth article we agreed, that it should be reciprocal on our side as well as theirs. All the rest we agreed in our own words; except the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, which run all upon the same foot. Nor could I obtain them, after all our debates; but, on the other side, the Pensioner *Fagel* was peremptory, and positive in it, that they could not possibly be agreed to: and that, not only because there was no ground for them, in the article of our last treaty;

treaty ; but because, he said, the *States* themselves, or, at least, those which are called so here, as representing the *States*, have not the power to do it, or to alter the course of judicature amongst any of their subjects. As for example, not to order men to be tried, in any cases of contract or debt, before any others, besides the usual and constituted judicature of the place. Not to force any man to accept of another creditor, than him to whom he had lent his money. Not to force any man to accept of land or houses, in payment of money he had lent : and so the other matters, relating to the rest of those fore-mentioned articles. And these points they argue to be not only out of the power of the *States*, but contrary to the known constitutions of the civil law, from many common places not necessary to repeat. All they offer upon these points is only, in the first place, to order the accomplishment in full of the words of the article in the last treaty ; whereby it was agreed, his Majesty's subjects there should be tied to no other rules and laws, in points of buying, selling, or commutation of goods, than what were practised among all the other inhabitants of that colony ; but should in all points of civil justice, have the same privileges with the rest. In the next place, they offered to give order to certain Commissioners of their own, to assist any of his Majesty's, with the utmost of their power, towards the disposing any parties concerned in any such debts, to adjust them, either by exchange of the said debts for others : or by taking satisfaction from them in lands or goods ; so they might be agreed by the consent of the parties concerned. But if that could not be done, they could not force their subjects, nor deny them the right of having recourse to the justice of the place, for the final determination of all such matters. And in this they were unmoveable, as a thing out of their power. And, on the other side, I told them, what they offered was
not

not at all what I could accept of: so that I had nothing to do, but to represent it to his Majesty, and pursue the orders I should thereupon receive. In the mean time, I am assured, that the orders necessary to the *advice yatcht*, shall be in my hands before the closing of this packet. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 22. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE my last, I heard of a long letter, come hither from the Count *d'Estrades* to the late Pensioner of *Mastricht*; by whose intervention the said Count at first began, and hath since managed, a secret correspondence here with the Pensioner *Fagel*, and, by his conveyance, with the Prince. I gave your Majesty some former notices of it by your Secretaries; and I find, that since that time it has run coldly, and most upon a treaty of commerce, and a cartel of prisoners. But, hearing this last letter run into things more general, I fell into the discourse of it with the Pensioner *Fagel* yesterday; and, at last, engaged him to send me a copy of the letter, which he confessed to have by him; but that the Prince had the original. I caused it to be transcribed immediately, and send it your Majesty inclosed. Upon the whole, I find the Pensioner fixed, that this *State* must venture all, rather than quit their allies; but, for what concerns themselves, not only desirous, but impatient for a peace. For the match proposed in the Count's letter, I find him little inclined to it; but very much to that of *England*. Upon this talk I asked him, whether he had not heard

of

of another, between the King of *Spain* and *Madamoi-selle*. He confessed he had, and seemed to wonder at this in the letter; because he thought the advice of the other came the same way, though not directly. I asked him, what he thought of the match with *Spain*? And when he said a great deal of wishing and applauding it, upon the conditions of *France*'s endowing her with the conquests of *Flanders*; I told him, he had reason; and that the *State* might very well give a Queen's portion, to have the match and the peace made upon those terms. He confessed it, and said, at last, *Je me fais fort de faire donner deux cent mille Jacobus a cette condition*; and when I said, they might very well undertake for *Spain*'s giving as much more, we ended this conversation.

I thought it became me to give your Majesty knowledge of what passed; and only to say upon it, that, in my weak opinion, this were an adventure worthy your Majesty's achievement: by which alone, in all present appearance, the peace of *Christendom* may be restored: by which *France* may come out of the war with honour, and *Spain* with safety: by which your Majesty leaves a niece, with one of the greatest Crowns of *Christendom* on her head: by which you may draw a mighty treasure into your purse: and by which, after the applauses of all the world abroad, and all your subjects at home, upon a peace whereby *Flanders* is secured; your Majesty will have glory and ease, together attend all the rest of your life. And so I leave it to your Majesty's thoughts, and beg your justice in believing me,

Your Majesty's, &c.

I beg of your Majesty the inclosed copy may be secret, whether it be useful, or no.

To the KING.

Hague, January 29. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

UPON the discourses with the Pensioner, of which I gave your Majesty an account in my last, the Prince took occasion to enter with me upon the same subject, just upon his leaving the town. He spoke of it with great hopes, that your Majesty would fall in with such a project of the peace; with confidence, that you might most certainly and easily effect it, if you pleased; and with despair of seeing it brought about any other way. Upon my mention of money, in general, he said, that should not fail: and upon my raising difficulties, of *France* quitting so many conquered places, though upon consideration of such a match; he said, if all would not be consented to, he believed it might be done upon those that were most necessary to the security of *Flanders*. That he knew so much of the condition of *France*, as to believe they would be glad of a peace, if they could have it with honour, which this would give them; and that, however, he was sure they would not refuse it your Majesty, if they saw you desired it. He spoke of it as a thing that would give him assurance of your Majesty's impartialness in the general affair; of your good meaning to his Highness, and the safety of these countries; and of that which would make way for the firmest and closest measures between you, for ever after. He desired me to write of it personally to your Majesty, and to give him immediately an account of what answer I received; which makes me give your Majesty more trouble than I should have presumed to do, upon any other occasion; and take notice of it to no other hand, till I receive your Majesty's command upon it, what I shall say to the Prince. I confess, I took it for a scheme of great honour,

80 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

honour, happiness and ease to your Majesty. And if you should effect it, and after a general peace fall into those close measures with the Prince and this State, which my Lord Chamberlain so much discoursed of here; I should not despair of seeing them brought to give your Majesty, upon a defensive league, a clause of guaranty upon all quarrels you might have by your right to the flag: which would be certainly the way to give your Majesty an undisputed possession, of what hath been hitherto a disputed claim; and thereby leave to your Majesty's Crown and reign, the greatest glory that hath arrived to any of your ancestors.

I had troubled your Majesty with this by last post; but that hearing something more had passed in the *Mastricht* correspondence, I resolved first to speak with the Pensioner *Fagel*; which I could not do till Sunday. He told me, there was another letter come from the Count, and all the arguments that could be used to draw this State off from the measures with the house of *Austria*, and into the old ones with *France*; and that, besides all other advantages of trade, it was proposed to give them a port in the *Mediterranean* upon the coast of *Italy*. But upon the whole he said, they could not leave their allies; discoursed much of the forces they should have next campaign, of the little appearance to make a peace, at present, any other way, than by the project mentioned. And concluded, that if all success failed, so as their allies should break into separate treaties, he doubted not, but they could take better measures with *France*, than any of the rest.

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for these troubles; and your acceptance of that devotion and truth, wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient

subject and servant.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, *Hague, February 22. N. S. 1675.*

SINCE my last, I have received yours of the 5th, which brought me a copy of the most Christian King's answer to his Majesty, upon the proposal of *Meurs* for the place of congress, and his Majesty's commands how to proceed farther with the States in this matter. The best account I can give you of my obeying them, will be by the inclosed memorial; which being the first I have put into the *States* upon the subject of his Majesty's mediation, I thought might be fit to trouble you with; that so I might know, whether, being left so much at large in this commission, the conceptions I have upon it, agree as they ought to do with those of his Majesty; both as to the main scope, and as to the manner and circumstances of proceeding in it. One of the great ones, and most to be considered, I take to be that of persuading the confederates, that his Majesty is as impartial as a mediator ought to be, in the conduct of this affair; and, therefore, you will find this design run through the whole contexture of this memorial: the rest is, I hope, just what his Majesty commanded me to pursue upon the point of *Nimeguen*, and the instances as strong as I could make them; and may not possibly be less successful for the Pensioner's absence; if the *States* think fit to come to a resolution upon it, without his communication, which I may yet know before the closure of this letter: in the mean time, I shall give you the state, as well as I can, of the *Swedish* mediation, in answer to the latter part of your letter; and your commands of doing all by concert or communication with him.

Hitherto he has always brought, or sent me copies of all the memorials he has put in upon the subject of

his Master's mediation, within a day or two after he delivered them; but without any communication before of what they imparted; though they have been many, since he knew and complimented me, upon his Majesty's mediation being accepted by all parties. I have observed the same course with him, and still give him part of what passed at the conferences between me and the *States* Deputies upon the same subject; and we live in all points the best and the friendliest that can be together. But upon the whole matter, I take his Majesty's mediation, and that of the Crown of *Sweden*, to be different so essentially, as well as in circumstances, that I know not how they can be so absolutely joined as you seem to intimate; nor whether it ought to be endeavoured farther than maintaining the best correspondence that can be with them, and making, as near as we can, the same pace, though separately, in the course of this affair.

For the first; you know when the *Swedes* mediation began, we and *France*, and these *States*, were all the parties in the quarrel: that during the mediation at *Collogn*, by an alliance with *Spain*, the house of *Austria* came, with other Princes, to be principals in it: that after this incident, though the *Swedish* mediation continued, yet it reached no farther in the negotiations of their Ambassadors, than the first parties: and though it was endeavoured (whether it failed upon punctilioes, or more important speculations) 'tis certain, that neither the Emperor, nor the Court of *Spain*, have ever yet been induced to accept of that mediation. So that neither they on one side, being refused by some parties, nor the Pope, who will be refused by others, can pretend to make the same figure in this business as his Majesty does, who is accepted by all.

In the next place; though Monsieur *Ebernsteyn* has since his arrival here, very industriously kept up the part of a mediator, by very frequent and voluminous memorials,

memorials, which he has lately printed altogether; yet they have been considered by the *States* little farther, than either as general discourses, or declamations upon the theme of peace; or else diligences affected purposely to preserve the figure of mediation in that Crown with this *State*, while they were at first preparing, and since engaged in open hostility, with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, one of their allies: for whose defence, they knew this *State* was by treaty obliged to employ all their forces: and come to an open rupture with the invader.

Ever since I came hither, I have been frequently entertained by those of the *States*, and particularly by the Pensioner, with very sharp complaints of the *Swedes* towards them; and their open and avowed partiality to *France*, in the whole course of the mediation. But more of the *desbonnetetè*, as they term it, to continue the offers and paces of the mediator, after the treaties formerly concluded with *France*; their money so openly received, and their hostile march into the Duke of *Brandenburgh's* country. But after the news of this last adventure, the Pensioner at the head of the *States* Deputies, in the next conference upon their desires, upon his Majesty's proposing *Meurs*, told me, the *States* had at first ordered the same desire to be made to the *Swedish* Ambassador, but had since resolved that should be omitted; because they could not consider that Crown any longer as mediator, after their being engaged actually in a war with one of their principal allies, and upon measures formerly taken with their enemies.

You know since, how this motion of the *Swedish* army has been a blind sort of business on both sides; they, on the one side, apprehending the resolute professions of this *State* to declare open war by sea and land; and not only to engage their confederates, but endeavour it with the *Muscovite* too, in case they did not

not retire their forces out of the *Brandenburgh* country, have seemed of late very irresolute to go on, or come off from the adventure: and by a middle course of only quartering in his country, but attacking none of his towns, and paying sometimes for what they take, that they might not be said to live wholly at discretion, as in an enemy's country; they have seemed to design the giving just so much satisfaction to *France*, as might preserve their treaties with that Crown; and so little offence to the confederates, as might keep off a general breach with the Emperor, as well as *Spain* and this *State*; and, perhaps, most of the Princes of the Empire too, in conjunction with *Denmark*.

On the other side, this *State*, though they have, from the first march of the *Swedish* troops, declared positively to the Ambassador here, that they would open the war, unless his Master recalled his forces out of the *Brandenburgh* territories; yet they have delayed it all this while, upon pretence of that resolution's running the circle of all the provinces with some more than usual delay; but in truth, that before they begin an action of such consequence, they may be first assured of their confederate's intentions, take their measures with them, for beginning, as well as carrying on the war; and in the mean time, give *Sweden* leave to avoid it, by recalling their forces. As this matter has played upon these circumstances and dispositions, so you will easily imagine the business of their mediation has sometimes appeared alive, and sometimes dead; and whether it be one or t'other, for my part, I cannot tell. For, notwithstanding what the Pensioner told me, as I before mentioned, and what I hear was replied at a conference by the Deputies to the *Swedish* Ambassadors upon that occasion; yet, I find, he still continues his memorials in the same style, and will, I know, make all the paces imaginable, to preserve this figure of mediation as long as can be done.

Now,

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 85

Now, whether this continue or no; which yet I will formally ask the Pensioner at his return, as you desire; yet, I doubt, for my part, whether it will not weaken the force of his Majesty's mediation (which will chiefly consist in the opinion of its being impartial), to join it openly and formally with that of *Sweden*; which, whether the war go on or no, will ever be interpreted not only partial to *France*, but even to be managed by the very motions they shall receive from thence.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, February 26. N. S. 1675.

I Was extreme sorry to find by your last of the 9th, that your illness was returned, after I had flattered myself with its having left you, from what your former told me. God send your next may bring me better news of it, which will be welcomer to no body, than me. I am very glad to find his Majesty has that proposition still in his thought and endeavour, and hope, he will pursue it till it falls one way or other: for, in all business of public or private concernment, I have always thought the best rule is, as in hunting, one thing at a time, and see the end of it before another begins. I am very proud to find his Majesty's opinion, as well as yours, agree with what I had at the first upon this business of *Gelderland*: 'tis now over; but the smart of it will not wear off, without further time; and bending the stick a contrary way, must make it right. I think his Majesty, for his own sake, as well as the Prince's, has reason to be of the mind he is, in this matter: for all offers of that kind, lose us as many friends in this country, as they gain to *France*: and
it

it was a common voice of *Amsterdam*, that they had better be under the subjection of that Crown, than of an absolute sovereignty at home. In those few days the noise lasted, there was above three hundred thousand pounds drawn out of the bank of *Amsterdam*; the *East-India* actions fell above thirty, and those upon the *Cantores* of *Holland* fell from a hundred to seventy-five, which was five lower than at the most desperate crisis of the last war. Which are effects that might amaze such as do not either understand or consider, how much trade, and indeed all government, depends upon opinion.

The Prince has, in his letters to the Province of *Utrecht*, thanked them for their kindness expressed to him in their advice, and fallen very sharp upon those in other provinces, who could ground such suspicions, as they had, upon that occasion: which makes me fear, he does not yet know enough of the temper of his patient, nor how little any sort of rough physic agrees with it. And, let me tell you, between us, that among some younger or warmer heads, they say, our friend has been the chief consulter of this affair; which, for my part, I think, agrees very well with what others say, of his being at heart as much a republican as *Monsieur de Witt*. For, I am sure, nothing could have given so great a check to any designs of domination here, as this has done. Whereas, by a course of very popular councils, with some successes in the war, the *States* themselves, in some little time, might have been the instruments of increasing the Prince's authority; or the people might have forced them to it, by their trust and kindness to the Prince, and thereby preferring his government before their own.

I cannot tell you any thing yet, what is like to be done about his Majesty's proposition of *Nimeguen* for the place of congress; the *States* having sent it to the Prince, as I had done at the same time I put in my memorial

memorial to them. I have pressed it both with his Highness and here, as the only way of meeting: but after all, I am apt to think, the campaign will begin before the treaty; and the events of one will be governed by those of the other. I believe, the method of the next action will be, to have the Emperor's army act either by itself, or in conjunction only with that of the circles; and for the *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburgh* troops to fall in as auxiliaries only to the Prince of *Orange*; who shall command alone, and, upon occasion of a siege or a battle, receive other auxiliary troops likewise from the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*; who will live in the best intelligence, and, I believe, with very great deference, to his Highness, in the councils and actions of the campaign.

I write you particular things, which go no other way; but such as I imagine his Majesty, as well as you, may be content to know.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, March 22. N. S. 1675.

I Have newly received your's of the 8th current, and rejoice with you upon your journey to *Huston*, where I wish you the health and satisfaction you propose to yourself, and which is necessary both to the service of your Master, and to the contentment of your friends. What you wonder so much at, both as to the Prince's saying, you had given him no answer to what he proposed to you about the peace; and as to my suffering him to say it; I must tell you, that I very well remember what you writ to me about Monsieur *Ruvigni's* scheme of that matter; and I told it the Prince, whether you writ to him, or no. But his Highness

Highness never took that for any answer to what he had advanced to you, at your being here : which, he says, was not to *France*, nor to know their mind upon it, but his Majesty's. Therefore the answer the Prince expected upon it, was, to know whether his Majesty thought that proposal, or something near it, a reasonable ground for such a peace, as his Majesty judged safe and lasting : and, whether his Majesty would thereupon endeavour it with *France*, while his Highness did the same with the confederates. If his Majesty should be of this mind, then the Prince expected, he would propose it to *France*, and signify their answer upon it : if that should be just what Monsieur *Ruvigni* sticks at, and no appearance of growing less, I suppose, in plain terms, the treaty ends before it begins, and is not to begin again till the campaign ends. This, at least, is my opinion : and that, whatever the success of the one side, and disasters of the other, have been the last year ; yet the confederates will rather throw away the sheath, and buckle again to the war, than take a peace upon such terms, before they are absolutely beaten into it.

I have, upon Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* order, at two conferences, desired of the *States*, to propose a plan to his Majesty, upon which, or near it, they think their allies will consent to the peace. By next post, you will see it from them in writing ; in the mean time, I may tell you, it will be much such another on the one side, as Monsieur *Ruvigni's* is on the other : and so must all be, that comes this open way from the *States*. Nor should I have desired it, but by Mr. Secretary's orders, or expected an issue from any thing here in this kind, but what first is privately concerted between his Majesty and the Prince.

What the *States* will do, as to interposing for Prince *William* of *Furstenburgh*, I know not : but I hear it talked among the foreign Ministers, that the Emperor will

will not part with him, unless a peace be made; and, in that case, he will oblige himself to give him his liberty, and pardon him. I have very good reason to believe the *Swedish* Ambassadors, both at *Paris* and here, make it their business to hinder the congress at *Nimeguen*, by throwing in this incident, as well as otherways, and stomach his Majesty's being left the sole Mediator, by their being so formally rejected; as well as having obtained this point from the *States*, after their having failed of *Breda* so long contended for. However, Monsieur *Ebernstein* and I live the best that can be together; which I do, not only by his Majesty's command, but by my own disposition too, having visited him four or five times, and communicated all that has passed in his Majesty's mediation, since he has stirred out of his chamber, where he has lain sick either of the gout, or of trouble, since he is grown, as he calls it, *tout à fait inutile*: and, I think, indeed, I never saw a more dejected man than he has been upon this occasion.

For my own part, I think you have ended your *Indian* treaty the best you could: and you know very well, I ever told you, the State here would break, rather than come up to what our merchants (or the contrivers of some unkindness between the nations) resolved at first to ask, and have since stood upon just as you say, either to have all they asked, or nothing. Nor do I believe, there will be much use of the Commissioners to decide the quarrels of the companies, when other quarrels are not intended on one side or t'other.

I am ever, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March, 22. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

I Have this day received the honour of a letter from your Majesty of the 5th, for which I return my humble acknowledgments, and esteem it much the greater, for having been written upon a subject, which I knew your Majesty would not treat otherwise than in confidence; being, indeed, a very tender point, and which touches the strings; upon the good or ill tuning whereof, very much of your Majesty's greatest concerns at this time depends. I will confess, that I was extremely surpris'd, to read what your Majesty says has been whisper'd to you, concerning an intended journey of the Prince this spring into *England*; and I should be extremely ashamed to be found ignorant here of a matter of such consequence, that were known so far off. I have very little belief of infallibility, and less of no man's than my own: but I am as confident as I can be of having any of my five senses about me, that the Prince has never had yet one thought of such a journey this season; unless it had happened, that the peace had been absolutely made, which he has not lately had much reason to hope for; and for the present, I believe, he thinks no more of a journey to *London*, than to *Venice*; nor indeed of any thing, but how to get out this war with a little honour and safety; towards which, I am confident, he reckons upon pleasing your Majesty, as a much better and nearer way, than disobliging you in any kind.

This is my opinion, and I have not yet been out in any of my calculations here. But because I cannot reckon any thing to be neglected, that deserves your Majesty's thoughts, I will, at my first seeing the Prince upon his return (which is expected after to morrow)

row) let him know, that I hear such a thing has been whispered to your Majesty, and how I conceive it must be understood, and will, upon this occasion, talk it to the bottom, if I find it needs, either from what I meet in his discourse upon it, or can observe from his countenance. But if I find it wholly as I expect, without any manner of ground, I shall, with your Majesty's leave, neither shew him your letter, nor speak of it as a thing your Majesty believed, or reflected upon. And, of all this, I hope to give your Majesty an account by the next.

I can easily imagine, what errand the whisperers of this story must have pretended, to give such a journey of the Prince about the time of the Parliament's sitting: and I will not answer for Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* busy talk at such a season; though he may have as little thanks for it here, as for all he has lately entered into of his own head with Monsieur *Ruvigni*. But I should be very sorry to serve your Majesty in this figure, upon a scene where any motions should arise towards the discomposing your Majesty's affairs, either at home or abroad, or those measures you shall think fit to hold, in a point so material to the happiness of your reign. And, on the contrary, I am pretty confident, that I could prevail both with the Prince and the State here, as to all that concerns themselves, to refer the business of the peace wholly to your Majesty, not as a mediator only, but as absolute arbiter, and without thinking of any other recourse, but to your Majesty's personal dispositions, and judgment of what you esteem safe for them and their neighbours. And, if the point of honour, and thereby, indeed, of interest, were not in it, not to abandon their allies, to whom they owe their own preservation, and are tyed by so many treaties; I doubt not but I should be able to send your Majesty such a scheme from hence before I am a week older.

92 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

If my opinions are right, and your Majesty be so safe and so easy here, as I believe ; it will then be possibly worth your Majesty's observing, from what quarter this arrow came, and whether there be no poison in it, that you may know the hand another time. If I am mistaken, and there was reason for such a suspicion, your Majesty, I am sure, has a very ignorant Ambassador here, and who has lost the talent of serving you with the success has formerly attended him ; though, I am sure, he has lost none of that hearty zeal, where-with he has been, and shall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majesty's

most faithful, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March, 25. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

IN pursuance of what I writ last post, I waited on the Prince yesterday at his return, and took occasion to tell him what I heard had been whispered to your Majesty about his intended journey this spring into *England*, without taking notice of having heard any thing of it from your Majesty. The Prince told me, he knew very well what must be the meaning of such a report: that he was very sorry to see some persons about you resolved to do him all ill offices to your Majesty, and endeavour to make things ill between you, let his carriage be what it will: that, for his part, he would never deserve it, but he knew not how to help peoples talk: they might say if they would, *That a cow could catch a hare*; but he did not know why any body should believe it. I interrupted him, and said
he,

he might be confident, your Majesty would be the last to believe any thing of his Highness's ill intentions towards you in any kind: and that, I was sure, you believed nothing of this, whatever had been told you: that he knew very well, how glad your Majesty would be at all times to see him; but that it might be at some times inconvenient to you both, and therefore, your Majesty was confident, that whenever he had any thoughts of it, the first thing he would do, would be to acquaint you with it, and know your opinion, and your pleasure upon it. The Prince replied, that he would be sure to do so whenever there was occasion, but hitherto there had been none: that, it was true, when my Lord *Arlington* was here, they talked sometimes of his going into *England* this spring, in case the peace were made; or that, if it were so far advanced, as to let him see it would be done, he should have been content to go and conclude it in *England*: but this was only talked at their being here, and that my Lord *Arlington* had first begun it, and put him upon these thoughts: that, since that time, he had never thought more of it: and that I can tell very well, as affairs went, if he had the greatest mind in the world to go, he could not; and that, if he could, he was sure he should never think of it, without first asking your Majesty's leave, and knowing that you liked it. With that, he said in some heat, would to God none about the King had worse intentions to his service, than I have: but if he will not believe me, what can I do? I would be very glad to see the King, and have but too much reason to desire it; but I have something else to do at this time, than to think of such journies.

I tell your Majesty, as just as I can, his own words; by which you will best judge of his meaning: and, upon this, I told his Highness, I was very glad I was not mistaken in him; for, upon hearing what had been told your Majesty upon this subject, I had written

ten

ten to you the last post; and thereupon repeated some of the assurances I had given you, both of his never having had any such thing in design, and of his duty and intentions towards your Majesty, being in all points what became him. The Prince told me, he was very much beholden to me for it, and swore, he would always make my words good; and that he would never deceive you.

May it please your Majesty,

I had written thus far in the morning, and thought I had very little to add; but, about one o'clock afternoon, the Prince came to me, and sent for me out of my closet, where I was locked up. When I came to him, he made me excuses, at first, in good humour enough; but, suddenly changing countenance, he told me, he had received a letter from my Lord *Arlington*, that he could not but come and shew me; for he knew not, for his part, what to say to it, nor what he meant by it: thereupon he read it all to me; and, upon that part which concerned his journey into *England*, he said, his Lordship knew well enough, how far that was ever thought of, for he was the first that put me upon it. Then he went on, and read a long period in cypher, that begun about *du Moulin's* being still about him, and fomenting the designs of engaging the Parliament, this next sitting, in the affairs of *France*; telling him thereupon, his highness knew best, whether such friendships were to be relied on, that were made *à coups des bâtons*: and that he knew very well, there were discontents here, as well as in other places, and that, *Si on les touchoit, on les pourroit faire saigner encore*. I repeat the words as near as I can remember, because I know not whether this was written or no by your Majesty's communication or command: and the Prince reading it with some stammering upon the interlining of the cypher, and yet with a good deal of emotion;

I will not answer for every word, but I am sure I am right in the gross, upon reading the last words, *On les pourroit faire saigner*. The Prince said, he understood this very well; for it was the same with what my Lord *Arlington* told Monsieur *Reed* in *England*; that if the King would go about it, he could make him be served as Monsieur *de Witt* was: then he swore in a rage, that he could not bear this language from my Lord *Arlington*, nor live any longer with him as he had done: that, under profession of friendship, and of dealing plainly with him, he saw very well, that he did him all the mischief he could; and that he could bear it no longer. When I told the Prince, that what my Lord *Arlington* writ, was upon what others had said, and endeavoured to make your Majesty believe; he said, no, he believed it was my Lord *Arlington* himself; and that he had made his brother *Odyke* hinder *du Moulin's* going to *Surinam*, on purpose that he might still have that pretext of doing him ill offices to your Majesty: that, however, if he had been such a friend as he pretended, whenever any body else offered at doing him such ill offices to your Majesty; my Lord *Arlington*, that knew his intentions so well, should have given them the lie, and have answered to your Majesty for him, and not gone away himself with the belief of them, or write him such impertinent language upon no manner of grounds: then he wished he might die on the place, if he, or any man he knew here, had the least thoughts of making any intrigues with the Parliament, or offering at any sorts of application to them; or if ever he had thought or done any thing in the war itself, that deserved any such language as this. But then he stopt, and said, he would write to my Lord *Arlington* what was fit to be said to such a letter: but he would write to your Majesty too; and desired me, I would convey it to you, so as it might be delivered you in private; for, unless he could enter

ter into a personal confidence with your Majesty, he knew not how to live with you, for he knew not which of your Ministers he could trust, since my Lord *Arlington* used him after this manner. I promised his Highness to convey his letter to you: and, after a great deal of passion vented, and with all the professions imaginable, not only of his own innocence, but that no man should dare do any thing against your Majesty's service, whilst he had any power; he left me. And I thought it my duty to give your Majesty this bare account of all that passed, which I thought of so great concernment.

What is so to your Majesty's, will ever make me lose all other regards. I told your Majesty, at my coming away, I would depend upon none but yourself: when that fails, I know the way to my garden again. In the mean time, you shall be served with the sincere and particular devotion that becomes,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient

subject and servant.

To the Governor and Company of Merchant Adventurers.

S I R,

Hague, March 26. N. S. 1675.

I Received not long since a kind letter from you, in the name of the company of merchant adventurers of *England*, and should be very glad to deserve the good opinion you therein express of me, and of my good intentions towards the service of your company, in its just pretensions here. It would be an honour to me, during my present embassy, to retrieve them, after what happened to their prejudice before my last arrival;

arrival; as it was one to me in my last embassy to relieve them, which, I think, indeed, I may wholly attribute to myself. I am sure, no man can be a greater fervant and well-wisher to all designs of advancing the trade of our nation, than I; nor, consequently, to the prosperity of your company, and of the city of *London*, where it resides, and where I esteem it an honour to have been born. But as to the particular branches of it, especially this at *Dort*, I dare not take upon me to judge, how much the establishment of it in its former constitutions, imports the advancement of our trade; because his Majesty and Council seem to have put some discountenance upon that opinion, by the liberty or connivance given, for so many years past, to the interloping trade, which makes it look as if the present interest of your company here, were no more than the bare interest of some few merchants habituated at *Dort*, and their enjoyments of certain exemptions, which are considerable, perhaps, to their domestic and personal concerns, but very little so to the woollen trade of the nation, in which they have but a very small share, in proportion to what the interlopers drive.

I may have leave to say, that in what transactions have passed through my hands upon this subject, during my last and present embassy, I have gone to the bottom of this affair, and seen by what springs it has moved: and being a very plain man, I will deal so with you in this matter, and tell you, that I believe, the discouragements given to your company in *England* by the liberties allowed the interloping trade, both at first raised, and have ever since fomented, the ill talent that you know has been born to it for several years, by this province of *Holland*: for, as to the rest of the provinces, they have none at all against you. I believe, the bottom of it here is, that they see plainly, whatever privileges are allowed your company at

N

Dort,

Dort, will be given by the other towns, either openly or covertly, to all those interlopers, who bring their wollen manufacture directly thither; and in this, the very *States* themselves cannot hinder what each town will do for their own particular advantage. And the effect they apprehend from this, is, a general increase of the imported manufactures from *England*, and thereby a proportionable decay of their own; upon which the interest of this province very much turns: so that I have had it said to me, almost in plain terms, by the Pensioner here, that if the King will forbid the interloping trade, and restore your company to its full rights and privileges from his Majesty; they will do the same to all they have formerly enjoyed from the *States*.

When I have said this, I have told you all I know in your affair, the *States General* having deferred their answer to my memorial, till the representations upon it shall come from the *States of Holland*: but I have not told you all I suspect; which is, that in the present state of your company in *England*, it will be very difficult to restore it to the former state here, both from what I have already said, and from the constitution of this government; by which it is very easy to prevent a resolution of the *States* in any such matter, because the engaging of one town in a province, or of one province in the *States*, may do that: but, on the contrary, 'tis very hard to revoke a resolution passed, because the consent of all is necessary.

Upon this, you will best judge what reflexions, as well as what paces, to make in your business. And, for my part, as my duty must ever engage my obedience to whatever commands I receive from his Majesty upon this matter, so my inclinations will always improve it, all that may be, to the service of your company, which bears, at least, the name of our nation and commerce, though many would have it believed, that

that neither of them are much concerned in it. I am very much so, in the good-will and opinion of so worthy and honourable a society; which I desire you to let them know, and how much I shall, upon all occasions, endeavour to observe them; being to them, and to yourself,

SIR,

an affectionate

humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, *Hague, April 16. N. S. 1675.*

I Am to acknowledge your's of the 30th past, but I cannot take upon me to justify, or to clear any part of that *paper* given me by the *States*, concerning the terms of a peace: they would have been glad to have been excused from doing it at all; and when it was done, were glad it was off their hands; and, I suppose, have thought little of it, either before or since. I pressed them to it, because you were pleased to press me; but knew very well, it could be nothing but a piece of form, and that the secret hinges of such an affair could not turn before forty people, but must fasten first between his Majesty and the Prince, and then pass the forms of the *States*. His Highness is now perfectly well, has been up, and eat flesh these four or five days, and shifted to-day; so that his life may be reckoned much safer, than it has been these seven years. The stories, you say, are much wondered at there, of his having been visited by the foreign Ministers, and others, every day in his sickness, were so far from having any ground, that there were but four people, besides the physicians, that ever went to him; which

which were, *Rbindgrave*, Monsieur *Odyke*, Monsieur *Overkirke*, and Monsieur *Bentinck*, of which the two last were all that watched with him a nights in turns; and, indeed, I never knew any sickness of a great man so well governed as his; for, you know how apt they are, upon these occasions, to be endangered by the officious exercise of too much care and skill. Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Ashton* arrived here on *Sunday*, and delivered their letters that night; but the Prince excused seeing them in two or three days, so as they are gone to *Amsterdam*. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* will, I hear, come hither, either the end of this week, or beginning of next; and I hear for a secret, that the two Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, that is, *Cell* and *Ofnaburgh*, will be here too at the same time, upon an interview with the Prince, in which the Marquis *de Grana* intervenes from the Emperor, to agree upon the measures of this next campaign. The *Danish* Ministers have received the money, or the greatest part of it, agreed by their late treaty to be paid them before they take the field; that is, the whole *quota* of *Spain*, amounting to 85,000 *M. crowns*, is paid by *Don Emmanuel de Lyra*, and the *quota* of *Holland* and *Zealand* is likewise paid; but whether they will immediately break with *Sweden*, or stand upon this State's doing it first, or at the same time, I cannot tell; or whether this State will go so high or no.

I have one from you by Monsieur *de Bas*, who shall want no assistance I can give him here. I have likewise a letter from his Majesty, countersigned by you, in favour of the *Elizabeth*, a ship taken upon the same pretence with the *Rebecca*, concerning which I wrote in my last, and desired the declaration of his Majesty's understanding that article to include the trading from enemy's to enemy's ports: when this is done, I hope

to retrieve these two ships, if the owners are not wanting to themselves in attending the prosecution.

I am ever,

SIR,

your most faithful

humble servant.

To Sir William Lockhart.

My Lord, Hague, April 18. N. S. 1675.

I Am obliged to your Excellency for the favour of one of the 5th past, with the account of your ill usage on that side, in point of your letters; which, methinks, does not agree very well with the good intelligence between our two Courts, deserving more confidence, and fairer appearances, as far as I understand. Your Lordship knows best the ways of redressing it, though the loss or delay of my letters hardly deserve that care.

The tumult at *Bourdeaux* was, in my opinion, very prudently appeased; though I know not whether the success or example of such an adventure may not stir humours, or raise hopes of the same kind in other great towns. I confess, as much as I have read and thought, makes me of opinion, that those governments are safest and happiest for those that govern, which are easiest for them that obey; and which engage subjects to love and support them, by the opinion they shall lose by any change. And the contrary of this might be possibly felt in *France* itself, if ever they should meet with a misfortune from abroad: but that is very unlikely from the present prospect of their own great force, and wise conduct, compared with the ill concert and ill success of their enemies; and
the

the last is like to continue as long as the first, which, you know, is natural to all confederacies. Yet, whoever goes to sea, or to war, runs a venture, which is all I shall say of matters out of my way and my reach; and not trouble you with the great things said here by the Marquis *de Grana*, of his Master's army this year like to act under *Montecuculi* in *Alsatia*. All the news I can tell your Lordship from hence, is, the safety of the Prince; whose illness has passed without the least ill sign or accident; and his carriage in it, with so great equalness of temper, and constancy of mind, though it be not a thing of moment, yet has much confirmed the great opinion I ever had of his personal qualities being very extraordinary. I believe he will be abroad to morrow, unless he keep in one day to take physic, which he is but hardly persuaded to.

Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Ashton* came hither on Sunday from the King and Duke upon this occasion of the Prince's illness; but have not yet seen him, and will not return till next week.

I am ever with great respect and truth,

My Lord,

your Excellency's most obedient

bumble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, *Hague, August 13. N. S. 1675.*

SINCE my return on Sunday last, after a slow passage in very calm weather, I find myself obliged, by the advance you have pleased to make me in your's of the 30th past; which, by bringing me excuseth there was no occasion for, hath given me a very just

one of making my acknowledgments: this I should do more at large, if I thought the omission of ceremonies were not allowed in an intercourse of business; and were not, indeed, the best manners to a person that hath so great a share as you have always upon your hands.

I have, since my coming hither, performed in two conferences with the Pensioner, what I found myself encharged with in the instructions I now brought over; and acquainted him with his Majesty's resolutions concerning the warranty of *Flanders*, whenever the peace is made, even with a rupture upon any invasion; as likewise the defensive alliance with this State. I valued them both so far, that I left him extremely satisfied with the first, and not unsatisfied with the other, tho' it went not up to the height he could have wished, and, as he saith, was in proposal when my Lord Chamberlain was here. He will be ready to fall into the consideration of both these, whenever I desire it, which I shall do, when his Majesty thinks fit to possess me with the project or heads of them, and to send me further instructions how far to proceed upon them. For the peace, he expresseth still the same disposition towards it in this State, he hath ever done; and the great deference they will always have for the sentiments of his Majesty upon the conditions of it. Tho' he says, he doubts not but the State will be induced to furnish the expence of another year's war, if *France* continue the height of their demands, and the success of the *German* army answer the expectation they have given by the late encounters. He told me, he would speak with the Ministers of the confederates here, and acquaint them with the continuance of his Majesty's good dispositions and offices, towards the advance of the peace; and endeavour to find, whether any nearer approaches might be made towards it, by any new overture they could

could agree in, and should be content to put into his Majesty's hands.

I fell afterwards into the discourse of the two points our late marine treaty is still a little lame in; the liberty of trade from enemy's to enemy's port; and, the manner of revision. For the first, I found, he did not at all understand where the difficulty lay; and that Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had never yet informed the State of the difference he had so long entertained you with there, between concluding the future and the past. After opening the whole matter, and reading at last the declaration as you had drawn it up, I prevailed with him to fall in with it, upon these conditions: that, on our side, it should not extend to any thing that happened before the last war: and, on their side, it should extend to the release of all taken upon that pretence since the last peace. And the first of these I was easy in, because I knew very well, there could be no case that concerned it before the last war, when both we and they were in peace with all our neighbours from the first conclusion of this article in 1668, till the last war began. Hereupon he resolved (though it cannot be absolutely concluded till an assembly of the *States of Holland*) however, to propose it to the *States General*, and endeavour to have it agreed by them, under the approbation of the *States of Holland* at their next assembly, which will be about a month or five weeks hence.

For the point of revision: when I found him constant that the forms of judicature could not be changed here; which did but agree with what you told me concerning ours in the admiralty there, however the words of the treaty may seem to own: I at first made him sensible of the great inequality in the expences of our revisions and theirs; and thereupon proposed the only expedient I can possibly think of in the case: which is, that instead of seven of the first judges, and
eight

eight revisors added to them, according to the present forms; all revisions should be made by three of the first judges, and four revisors joined with them; which reduceth the number from fifteen to seven, and thereby abates one half of the charge. This, I told him; was only an expedient of my own, and which I had not yet offered to the King; but that I would do it, if he would offer it to the *States*, and with the favour of his own opinion falling in with it. And this we agreed to do on both hands: so that you will please to let me receive his Majesty's opinion upon it, as soon as it may be without trouble; the business of the *St. Joseph*, and others, depending upon the conclusion of this affair.

I ask your pardon for beginning your trouble of this kind with so much length, and your belief of my being always,

SIR,

your most faithful

humble servant.

To the KING.

Hague, Aug. 13. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE my return to this place, I have had two very long conferences with the Pensioner, which I will not trouble your Majesty with the detail of. The issue was, that, though they are grown here into better heart, by the success in *Pomerania*, and upon the *Rbine*, yet I found him so sensible of the hazard this State runneth in the person of the Prince, and of the advantage they will receive by the *guaranty* of *Flanders*, and defensive alliance your Majesty is resolved on with

them, in case they come to a peace by your intervention; that he at length fell in so far with what I told him were your Majesty's thoughts upon the conditions of the peace, as to assure me, that he would represent them to the Prince of *Orange* with all the advantage he could. Besides the difficulties he made about *Burgundy*, in the consequences of it both to the Emperor and *Spain*; he fell on himself, with great perplexity, upon that of the Prince's own patrimonial estate in that country; and said, those lands, with *Orange*, would give him too great a dependance upon *France*; whereas, he desired to see his Highness have all upon *England*, and none there. Upon the whole, we both concluded, that it was a matter which could not be so well deduced to the Prince by letter, as by discourse; and that it were best for the Pensioner to find some other pretence of attending his Highness, and as soon as he could. The Pensioner, though he agreed with me in it, yet said, the Prince was so unwilling he should leave the *Hague*, that he would not do it without first asking his Highness's leave, which he would do by an express immediately; by whom I writ likewise to the Prince upon the same occasion; but, referring all particulars to the Pensioner, when he should attend him. We expect a return of this dispatch on *Thursday*; and, whenever it comes, the Pensioner will away the same day, and, in the mean time, start some pretence, that may give no jealousy to the confederate Ministers here, with whom we agreed this matter should not take air, but by consent between your Majesty and the Prince. I see more appearance of a peace than a truce; for I find the Pensioner as averse from this last, as inclined to the other. His chief reasons are, that there needs as much negotiation to obtain the one, as the other: the charge of a war will not be lessened by a truce; and if the people here fall once into the usual course and security of trading, they will not be prevailed with to

return

return again into the war, though *France* should insist upon the most unreasonable terms.

For what concerns the *Swede*, the Pensioner is of opinion, that nothing can be negotiated with them, separate from the confederates on both sides: though he saith, a private overture has been made, that in case this State will procure a peace between that Crown and the confederates, *Sweden* will employ not only their offices, but their forces too, if there be need, to induce *France* to a peace upon the terms of *Aix la Chapelle*, with an exchange of *Aeth*, *Charleroy* and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omers*. Whether this have any ground or no, so much is, I think, out of doubt, that the *Swedes* have an extreme desire to get out of the war, and into the mediation again, but will. I believe, find difficulties in both. I have entertained Mr. Secretary *Williamson* by this night's packet upon those matters which were pointed at by my instructions; but thought it became me to trouble your Majesty with the account of such as I had the honour of receiving from your own discourses; and those this conveyance by the Captain of the yacht, as both surer and speedier too, if not hindered by cross tides in the river.

I cannot end this trouble without my humble acknowledgments for that particular confidence where-with your Majesty hath been pleased to honour me, in my late attendances upon your Majesty in *England*; and which I am much prouder of, than I could be of any titles or advantages that are the common objects of other mens pursuit and ambition. I assure your Majesty, mine shall never go farther, than to deserve, or, at least, acknowledge the honour you are pleased to do me, by all the services of my life; and by the

most

108 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

most constant devotion and perfect truth, wherewith I
am, and shall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most loyal,

and most obedient

subject and servant.

To Mr. Sidney.

SIR,

Hague, September, 3. N. S. 1675.

I Writ to you from *London* two or three times, whe-
ther acknowledging any of yours or no, I cannot
tell; for the thoughts of those common forms enter
not into our commerce, farther than to make the co-
ming safe of what is intended between us. Therefore,
'tis fit to tell you, that I had two from you while I
was in *England*; one by Mr. *Greenwood*, and the last,
of *July 21*, just before my coming away. I stayed
there just seven weeks, which was much longer than
was intended when I was sent for; as, I must tell you,
I was by the King, though, I think, not above two
knew of it; and I was to make my journey a thing of
my own desire, and designed for my private occasions;
which, you know, I do not much trouble myself a-
bout. The King happened to have no business so much
in his head, all the time of my stay, as what turns a
good deal upon my hands; and so, by falling very of-
ten into very long conversations, and privately with
me, gave occasion for a great deal of talk both there
and abroad, and expectations of some very decisive
measures taken upon the business of a peace; which,
when all is done, both as to conditions, place, time
and manner of treaty, will depend much upon what
shall prove the final event of this campaign. Things
have

have hit something worse of late for the *French* than before: but the armies, both in *Alsatia* and *Flanders*, having been left by our last letters in sight of one another, will tell us how the year, and the hopes of both parties, will end. Before this can come to you, 'tis likely, you will hear the success a shorter way; for I send this by Mr *Lock's* conveyance, having found no kind of encouragement to use the *French* posts between this and *Paris*; and so intending this for no further intelligence, than of what passes between ourselves; that itself is nothing more, nor like to be, it seems, in haste, than the very needless assurances of what, I know, we both feel at heart, in the continuance and warmth of our kindness and good wishes to one another, where-ever we are; and the satisfaction we shall receive in the knowledge of what becomes of us.

There seems not yet any certainty of the *congress*, and, till then, I suppose, I am fixed here: whenever that happens, it is intended I shall make a part of it, with what company I know not; my Lord *Berkley's* embassy into *France* being like enough to break that designation. Mr. *Fenwick* has my Lord *Clare's* regiment, and will find advantages here, if he deserve them; being the only *English* man of quality in the Prince's service. I expect you shall be as good as your word in writing sometimes where you are, how you do, and think to dispose yourself. I never wanted you more, than I did all the time I was in *England*; and never loved you better than I do, and shall do while I live.

SIR,

Your's, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, September 6. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Pensioner came to me upon his return from the camp, and gave me this account of the Prince's answer to the several points I had discoursed to him here. First, that his Highness gave your Majesty humble thanks for the confidence you had used towards him, in letting him know your own thoughts upon the subject of the peace; which he would endeavour to deserve, by communicating all his to your Majesty, upon this and all other matters, as he would do to a father: that he was very glad of the intentions your Majesty expressed, to enter into closer measures with him and this State; which his Highness would promote all that could be on this side: and that he esteemed this a better guaranty for *Flanders*, than any formal one that could be given upon the peace: and therefore desired, that the project of such an alliance as your Majesty will be content to make with them, may be agreed on as soon as your Majesty pleaseth; though you should not think fit to conclude it formally before the peace, which yet his Highness rather desired; because after, there will be no way of keeping a party in this State from endeavouring to renew their old measures with *France*; but letting them see, they were already taken with *England*, and their security found with us, which they pretend to by the *French*.

That for the terms of a peace, the Prince, for his own part, would be very well content to refer them wholly to your Majesty. But being, with the States, engaged to their confederates by honour and treaties, they were forced, in some measure, to consider what would satisfy them. That he doubted, as things now stood, they would not be induced to a peace, without the

the terms of *Aix la Chapelle*, and the restitution of *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, and *Oudenaide*; as absolutely necessary to make some frontier for *Flanders*. That if *France* insisted to have the county of *Burgundy*, it would find more difficulty; and that the *Spaniards*, but especially the *Emperor*, put so great weight upon it, that, he doubted, they would not only expect those three towns, but likewise *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Lisle*, and *Doway*.

That the Prince, for his part, rather wished your Majesty would propose the peace upon the first of these plans: wherein, he had very good assurance, you would be seconded by *Sweden*: but, if you should rather chuse to have *Burgundy* left to the *French*, neither his Highness, nor, he believed, the *States*, would make any difficulties upon it. And though he were very sensible of your Majesty's kindness, in the offers concerning his own particular interest there; yet, he assures your Majesty, whatever he hath or may suffer in them, that shall be no sort of hindrance to the peace.

That whatever proposition towards a peace your Majesty shall think fit to make, the Prince desires it may be done, as arising wholly from yourself, without notice of any private intelligence with him: and he thinks, the best way of doing it, will be at the congress at *Nimeguen*; where he doth not believe the *French* will make any farther difficulty of sending their Ambassadors, when those of your Majesty shall be there; and that the *Swedes*, as well as the confederates, will certainly send theirs immediately upon it.

This is the sum of the Pensioner's discourse to me from the Prince. And when I told him, that, I supposed, his Highness meant, the restitution of those three places should be made in exchange for *Aire* and *St. Omers*, as was spoken of at my Lord *Arlington's* being here; he told me, the Prince mentioned no such thing; and though he confessed what had passed in the

the winter ; yet, he thought, as affairs had since changed, *France* might find reasons to induce them to a peace upon these terms : yet, upon farther argument, he said, that, if your Majesty should think fit to propose an exchange at the treaty, he believed the *States* would not be against it. But he desired, that whatever your Majesty resolved on, might be proposed at the *congress* ; and not be, in the mean time, communicated to Monsieur — ; but, that if your Majesty desired any farther lights from hence, you would please to receive them as you have done these ; assuring me, that no person but the Prince and himself had been or should be acquainted with what had passed, and adding, that it was great kindness in your Majesty to avoid the noise which my going to the Prince would have made, since his own had made too much among the *Spaniards* in the army. Upon the whole, I find, the hearts of the confederates are grown high with their late successes, and with hopes of greater before this campaign ends ; and that the Prince is very much bent upon having his share in the honour of it, either by a siege or a battle, which, I believe, we may suddenly hear of, and that *Charleroy* is designed. The event hereof, as well as of the farther action yet expected in *Alsatia* and *Treves*, will so much govern the conditions of the peace, that I do not see how your Majesty can, at present, be Master of them, farther than by bringing it to a *congress*, and making the overtures there, according to the posture of affairs at that time, when no new successes on either side shall arise in that season to change the scene. I can yet see no farther, unless your Majesty can think of any temper, wherein *France* and the Prince may be like to agree before-hand, which will depend upon the opinion each side hath of their affairs : your Majesty will guess at that of the confederates by what I have written ; and, I hope, knows that of *France* by better hands. I humbly beg your Majesty's

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 113

Majesty's pardon for the necessary length of this trouble, and your acceptance of the true devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

SIR,

your Majestys most loyal

and most obedient

subject and servant.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, September 10. N. S. 1675.

I Am to acknowledge the favour and kindness of one from you of the 18th past, and of the account you therein give me of yourself, as well as the reflexions you make upon the affairs at present in the scenes here. To the first, I shall say nothing at all; knowing how good a judge you are of other men's affairs; and, consequently, how much better you must needs be of your own; in which all men are to be allowed for the best masters, till they either confess to have failed of their ends, or not to have found what they expected in them. I hope you find good recruits of health in the country, since you reckon upon staying so long there, as the accounts I receive of the King's intended motions, make me guess. But for the prospect you have there of the general affairs, I do not think you could mend it by any removes; for all will still depend upon the last events with which this campaign shall end: in which, I find, if the Prince had no wiser counsellors than you and I, he would be content to preserve his army and *Flanders*, till he saw the force of these *German* expeditions spent one way or other. But, I hear, he is resolved to have a share in the honour of the campaign, and will endeavour by a siege

VOL. IV. P of

of *Charleroy* to bring the *French* to a battle, though they are near as strong in number as he is, and much stronger in horse. To this end he is drawing together eighteen regiments towards *Ruremonde* from the garrisons of this State, which will make his foot strong when they join him. But, when all is done, *Flanders* is the only scene where the late successes of the confederates can, in any probability, receive a check this year, and whoever fights a battle, runs a venture. His grandmother died on *Monday* last, and has, I suppose, thereby left a considerable addition to his fortune.

The news here to-day, is, of taking *Treves*, wherein Monsieur *Creque*, and all the officers, remain prisoners; but the soldiers both *French* and *Dutch*, are sent away free, with engagement not to serve against the confederates in three months: and the *Lorrainers* either to remain prisoners, or to take service under that Duke. If this army should march into *Lorraine*, as was intended after the taking of *Treves*, I know not in what condition *France* would be to receive them, considering how ill the Prince of *Condé* has yet been able to deal with *Montecuculi*. But I have an opinion, that the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, who make the greatest strength of it, will march back with their troops, to make good their share in *Bremen*, if the *Swedes* should not be able to defend it: which will depend on the resolutions of the Duke of *Hanover*, that are not yet known. A Commissary of *Sweden*, who still remains here, says, that *France* will no longer insist upon the point of Prince *William*; at least, no further, but that he shall be set at liberty upon conclusion of a peace. If this be so, I see not how a congress will fail, if not, I know not how it will be.

In the mean time, this State is very earnest to have it begun by the King's sending his Ambassadors thither, which, they undertake, shall be followed not only by those

those of the confederates, but the *Suedes* too; who seek all ways of drawing their stake as soon and as well as they can, out of the present game.

This is all I know of to be told you at present from this place of solitude and leisure. And for myself, I will only say, that the journey or further remove you mention, and were told I was to make immediately after my return, is a thing I never heard of before, and so know not what your politic informers meant by it; unless it be the same which I believe they meant by several other things I found they told you, of my actions or discourses while I was in *England*, and with as little grounds. God be thanked, that among so many pursuits and journeys I have of late, by report, been engaged in, I know of none of them, but find myself a man of great repose, and without other designs, than of going on that dull, easy, and indifferent pace, that is natural to me; and by which, as I can make no great fortunes, so, I hope, I may make no great faults; and get no great falls; but shall ever be,

Your most faithful

humble servant.

To the KING.

Hague, Sept. 20. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING found the Pensioner sensible how little reason this State would have, upon any successes, to change the terms they proposed to themselves for a peace since they had no pretensions of their own for carrying on the war; and having touched the same string in a letter I writ to the Prince, upon the death of the Princess dowager; I received one yesterday from his Highness of the 17th, wherein were these words;

words; “ *Je ne voy pas qu’avant que j’arrive à la Haye je pourrois faire quelque chose pour l’avancement de la paix, laquelle pourtant je souhaite passionnement sur le pied que je vous ay toujours dit*”. I should be glad your Majesty and the Prince were so agreed, before a *congress* begins, as to draw things towards the same head in all matters that shall be negotiated there: and I see no other difference, than what there may be in the value of the county of *Burgundy*, or *Aire*, and *St. Omers*. I find them here of opinion, that nothing can be advanced towards a peace otherwise than at a *congress*; which they seem to ground only upon the great variety and number of parties and interests, that are engaged now in the war. But, I believe, this proceeds chiefly from the *Spaniards*, who are extreme jealous of all private measures that may be taken between your Majesty and the Prince, upon the subject of the peace.

Your Majesty will best judge, whether you are likely to prevail with the Emperor to release Prince *William* before the conclusion of a peace; or with *France* to insist no farther upon this point before a treaty begins; and will please accordingly to apply your offices towards some way or other of overcoming this difficulty, which must be the first open step that can be made towards the peace, that so as little of the season for a treaty may be left as the campaign will allow.

I will not increase your Majesty’s present trouble, beyond the professions of that humble and hearty devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majesty’s most loyal

and most obedient

subject and servant.

To

To the KING.

Hague, September, 27. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

SO great an honour as I received by a letter from your Majesty, has made me equally sensible how much I am to acknowledge it, and which way I may best deserve it, by applying my whole endeavours to what I find is so much in your Majesty's thoughts. We are now so near an end of the campaign, that I do no longer expect any decisive action from it: and when all the fights and all the bonfires are done, I believe, the greatest effect of it will be best judged by the winter-quarters of the Imperial army: whether Count *Montecuculi* will be able to gain them in *Lorrain* and the *Upper Alsatia* (as he proposes, and, I hear, has promised the Emperor) or shall be forced to seek them on t'other side the *Rhine*, which must happen, in case he does not master *Haguenau* and *Saberne*. For the battles expected either in *Pomerania* or *Flanders*, I am apt to think, neither party will seek them, without such advantages as the other will not give; so as the year may end without them. And your Majesty may already guess how the next scene is like to open, and upon what foot the negotiations of a peace are like to begin. On this side, I find, the overtures of them are expected from your Majesty (though, I believe, both the Court of *Rome* and of *Sweden* may affect that honour) and they are, I suppose, to be made by two different motions at the same time, the one public, by advancing the *congress* and some proposition there (or middle scheme between the pretensions of the parties) that may serve for a ground upon which the treaty may begin: the other private, by feeling the pulses on each side, and judging from thence, whence the nearest approaches are like to be made. For the *congress*,
your

your Majesty has all the reason in the world, not to send your Ambassadors, till you have assurance, that those of both parties will immediately follow, and, towards this, I see no other motions to be made on this side, than for your Majesty either to write to the Emperor, or to give me a command to speak to his Minister here; and, by one of these ways, either to make it your desire, that in consideration of your Majesty as mediator, he will make way for the *congress*, by putting Prince *William of Furstenburg* into some neutral hands, without further condition; or else propose, that he may be sent to *Venice*, upon caution taken from the State, that if the peace succeed not, he shall be returned to *Vienna*.

For the pulse on this side, I will assure your Majesty, it still beats very fast and very high, in all these provinces, towards the peace; so that in case the *congress* begins, and at *Nimeguen*, as it is at present agreed (that is, in the eye of these people) I think, I might undertake to make them agree to your Majesty's absolute arbitrage, in any difficulty that might arise upon it. And the suspicion of such violent influences from the bent of the people here, will make the house of *Austria* endeavour, (though upon other pretences) to remove the *congress* to some remoter place. As to *Spain*, I am not of the same opinion; and find by my last discourses with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, what reason the Prince had in his last with the Pensioner, to make so much difficulty upon the point of *Burgundy*: for, when I began only to touch that string, by saying, the greatest difficulty would lie there, and that your Majesty agreed with the confederates in the opinion of an absolute necessity to make a frontier for *Flanders*; Don *Emanuel* interrupted me *briskly*, and said, *Qu' on ne se flatte pas sur ce point, car nous perdrons plutôt toute la Flandre par la guerre, que de ceder la Bourgogne par la paix*. However, I do not despair upon this point itself, if your Majesty

Majesty and the Prince should come to agree in it; because I know how unwilling the house of *Austria* will be to break from this State, in the course of the treaty; and that in all has passed of late between them, they have not so much considered any advantages they expected from the war; as what they might hope by closing such measures with this State, as might serve them upon all occasions, even after the peace; and in any new conjunctures that may open when the King of *Spain* grows of age, by himself or some settled ministry to direct the councils, and head the actions of that Crown.

But this is the hardest of the game: whereas, if your Majesty shall, on the other side, find *France* disposed, by the late ill current of their affairs, to come up to the Prince's first project; which was, the four towns for *Aire* and *St. Omers*; I shall look upon the peace as made, notwithstanding any new incidents that may fall in, either from the empire or the *Dane*. I will desire your Majesty, not wholly to forget the advantages that were offered you from hence upon that scheme, of a marriage between the two Crowns, in case any way should open towards it, by the great variety of accidents that may yet possibly happen in the progress of a war; because, in all events, *France* with that may find an issue with honour, and your Majesty with profit, as well as applause.

For that wherein your Majesty wishes the Pensioner's eyes were opened; I have often discoursed upon that subject to him and others in the chief direction here, since the scene began to change to the disadvantage of *France*. But they all answer, these considerations will not be in season till *Spain* shall arrive at the terms of the *Pyrenees*; beyond which, if any step should ever be made, they say, the interests of this State will change, and not before. But there is yet another bias in this matter; and that is, *Lowestyn* parties being so much

much bent upon the measures with *France*, which turns those of the Prince and the present government here, so much more upon *Spain*. But these will lessen by nothing so much as by your Majesty's advances into closer measures and confidences with them, and, by that means, taking off their dependences from the other Crowns, and turning them wholly upon yours. All which lies, as I suppose, in your Majesty to do, at what time, and in what degree soever you please: as you may judge by the last account I gave of the Prince's and Pensioner's discourses upon this subject.

I am to beg your Majesty's pardon for this length, which I have been engaged in, by the desire of giving what lights I thought might be necessary now at your Majesty's entrance upon this great work of the mediation: I am, and shall be all my life,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most loyal,

and most obedient

subject and servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, October 15. N. S. 1675.

I Have the honour of yours of the 28th past, with his Majesty's commands upon the two points of the marine treaty, in pursuit of those gentlemen's opinion to whom the consideration of them was referred, which I likewise received in a paper inclosed. To morrow I shall have a conference with the States Deputies upon them, and by the next shall be able to give you an account of them, and doubt not at all but his Majesty will have satisfaction in them, which way

way soever he pleases to turn them, so it may be reciprocal on both sides.

Upon my memorial to the *States*, renewing the offices of his Majesty's mediation, and desiring that passports might be prepared, the *States* have resolved it shall be done without delay or difficulty; and in the same form with those for the congress at *Cologn*. They are content to give them with blanks for the names of Plenipotentiaries, and likewise, if his Majesty pleases, with a blank for the name of the place of treaty; and either to deliver them here to me, or send them to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, to be disposed of by his Majesty's order. In all which points if you please to signify his Majesty's pleasure to me, I shall not fail of seeing it performed; and question not but it will be abundantly in time, considering from what distances the other parts of this kind are to be performed, and how little use can be made of all these diligences till an expedient be found out in the business of Prince *William*.

I have, upon return of the Emperor's Minister to this place, performed likewise, by his intervention, the same offices in his Majesty's name to the Court at *Vienna*: upon which he told me, that he questioned not the Emperor's ready compliance with his Majesty in this matter, provided that *France* would reciprocally furnish the passports necessary for the Imperial Ministers, and those of the allies, but more particularly those of the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon which there had been so great an obstruction given to the late treaty at *Cologn*. I could answer nothing to this point; whereupon he desired me to insinuate it with the first to his Majesty, that so the resolution of *France* might be clearly known: adding, that he supposed there would be no difficulty in this, or any other matter which concerned the present Duke of *Lorrain*; since all the pretences given by *France* to any action against that dutchy, had been raised from their personal quarrels

with the old Duke, and jealousies, or exceptions, against his personal qualities, which could not lie against the present Duke. From this he fell into the general discourse of the mediation, and how powerful all his Majesty's offices would prove, in case he preserved the authority of a mediator; which consisted chiefly in the opinion of his impartial dispositions to all parties. That he did not question this of his Majesty, since he had charged himself with the mediation; and that he supposed, it was some of his Ministers, without his knowledge, that had given occasion to the reports which were spread in the *German* Princes Courts, of the Elector Palatine having begun a private negotiation with *France*, by the intervention of the Court of *England*; which had interrupted the measures of Count *Montecuculi*, and drawn him back with his forces towards those parts. I had nothing to reply upon this subject, but that it was a story I knew nothing of; and that the account Monsieur *Spanheim* gave me of his journey into *England*, was very different from any such intentions of his master; and so I turned the discourse to the business of Prince *William*; wherein he said, all the orders he had received was to declare, that the Emperor was willing, at the opening of the congress, to expose that whole matter before the several Ministers there concerned, and leave them to judge of the reason he had for that seizure and detention.

By what I could gather from much discourse between us, upon a point wherein neither of us had order to say any thing from our Masters, I am apt to believe, if his Majesty will propose an expedient in it, as a mediator, and with the strength of his own desire upon it, that the Emperor will not easily refuse it. And if his Majesty shall resolve to make this trial, and transmit it hither, in a letter to be conveyed to the Emperor; I shall, at the same time, engage the offices both of the

the Imperial Minister here, and Don *Emanuel de Lyra* to make way for it. This last was with me yesterday, and among many discourses upon the subject of the peace, fell upon the difficulty there would arise about the Pope's Nuncio, who could not intervene at a congress at *Nimeguen*, though his Master's mediation had been accepted both by the house of *Austria*, and likewise by *France*: and thereupon asked me, whether the place of congress might not yet be changed; which I have found of late both him and the Emperor's Minister much endeavouring. I told him, I believed tho' his Majesty had named *Nimeguen*, yet he had no other engagement to it besides the difficulty of any new agreement among the parties, who had already accepted this; and it was not easy to find any fitter in the provinces of this State admitted by *France*: and all others seemed to be excluded by a resolution of *France* and the house of *Austria*, not to treat in either of their dominions. That for the difficulty of the Pope's Nuncio, it was first to be considered, that though his Master's mediation had been accepted by the Emperor, and the two great Crowns, yet it could not be so by *Sweden*, *Denmark*, or this State. So as the Pope could not be esteemed in this negotiation as an universal mediator, which was a figure would belong to his Majesty alone. And therefore it would not, perhaps, be of necessity for his Minister to intervene at the place of congress, but only to reside at some place in the neighbourhood, where he might have constant communication with those Princes Ministers who had accepted his Master's mediation; and might possibly make use of it in points that were purely between themselves, without concernment of the other parties. That to this purpose there was *Cleve*, within two hours of *Nimeguen*, where the exercise of that religion was free, and performed in the great church; or if not, there were other convents at the same distance, very fit for receiving

receiving a Nuntio. Don *Emanuel* seemed to find no great exception against this expedient; but said, it would not be agreed upon unless his Majesty proposed it to *France*, which he therefore desired I would insinuate in my next letters.

The Pensioner told me in my last conference, that the expedient I mentioned in my last, to have been offered Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, concerning the business of Prince *William* to be agreed in the first article of the treaty, was offered him by one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State; which I could say nothing to; but I am very confident, if *France* will insist no farther than that, there will be no difficulty in this congress. He told me at the same time, that the Duke of *Nieuberg* had done his Majesty and the mediation a great wrong in *Germany*, by endeavouring to form a third party among the Princes of the *Rhine*, and giving out that his Majesty would be the head of them. To which I only replied, it was a thing I knew nothing of; but that I was very confident his Majesty would upon no occasion quit the figure of mediator, having once undertaken it, and being so universally accepted.

I am ever,

Sir, Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, November 1. N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE the Prince's return, I have had two large discourses with his Highness, and shall give your Majesty only the sum of what passed, not troubling you with the length of many circumstances. The Prince received the assurance your Majesty was pleased

to give him in some lines of your own hand, with very great sense of so much kindness ; which he said, he had all the reason that could be to believe from those expressions, and would ever deserve them the best he was able.

Upon the subject of the peace, he was, at my first audience, dryer and more careless, than ever I found him last winter, or spring. He said, it was out of his head at present : that we should find the *Spaniards* much stiffer than six months ago : that *Montecuculi's* desire of going to *Vienna* had hindered his taking up winter-quarters in *Alsatia* ; and some difference between himself and the *Spaniards* had spoiled the effect of this campaign, without which it might have gone far towards a reasonable peace. That he saw the only way of making the war in *Flanders*, would be with two separate armies, which might be compassed next campaign. And, that if the forces of *Lunenburgh* and *Munster* could clear *Bremen* of the *Swedens* this winter, he believed *France* might have their hands full next spring.

All his discourses being of this kind, I thought not fit to pursue them far the first time : but yesterday, at a second audience, I resolved to bring it to some point ; and desired his Highness to tell me, not what he thought of *Spain* or the empire, but upon what terms he himself would be content to see the peace made, and to fall into a concert with your Majesty for effecting it ; which I knew you would expect some knowledge of by this post. He said, at first, it was a hard question, and that he would think of it : but when I pressed him hard, he said, at last, he found the *Spaniards* so difficult upon *Aire* and *St. Omers*, which he had first thought of upon an exchange, that, for his part, he would be content with the quitting of *Burgundy*, if the *French* would give two towns more in *Flanders*, than those four your Majesty proposed ; that

is

is *Tournay* and *Doway*; because, he believed, *France* would make more difficulty of *Lisle*. And since your Majesty first made your scheme, the *Swedes* had lost so much, that this, he thought, might very well be given in their consideration. After much reply and argument, all I could clear by this discourse, consisted in these two points: that the Prince does not think fit the peace should be stopped by pretences of the Princes of the empire, to retain their present conquests upon *Sweden*; and that he will be content to yield the point of *Burgundy*, if the restitution of places in *Flanders* may be enlarged as an equivalent to it, and for the rest, the terms of *Aix-la-Chapelle*: so that between your Majesty's thoughts and those of his Highness, there will be the difference only of a town or two, more or less: by which your Majesty will be able to judge in what compass this matter will turn, when it comes to a treaty.

I am sensible of having given your Majesty too many and too long troubles of this kind, and will not therefore lengthen this beyond the professions of that constant and sincere devotion, wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most loyal

and most obedient

subject and servant.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR,

Hague, December 12. N. S. 1675.

I Have seldom troubled you since my last return out of *England*, leaving it to my sister to entertain you with any thing that is domestic, and to the paper that

is usually sent you, to inform you of common occurrences: and little of negotiation having lately passed here, farther than the formal progress of the King's mediation, in proposing, and, at length, fixing the place of treaty to be at *Nimeguen*, which you desire to know the reasons of.

I proposed this town to the King, and his Majesty to the parties, not as a matter of choice, but almost of necessity; for the Emperor would not send his Ambassadors to any in the *French* territories or conquests; and the *French* would not send theirs to any in the jurisdiction of the confederates; so that we fell at first here into the thoughts of *Bazil* or *Hamburg*, but many inconveniences were found in both; and *France*, upon the hopes of falling into particular measures or treaties with some of the confederates, was content this last year with any difficulties that might keep off a general congress, which was likely to unite their interests rather than separate them. And the confederates, on the other side, upon the confidence of their great numbers and forces, had a mind to see the events of the two last campaigns, before they fell into any serious thoughts of either peace or treaty: and so his Majesty's offers of mediation have continued now a year and a half without any effect, farther, than being at length accepted by all the parties.

The ill success of the *French* arms in the invaluable loss of Monsieur *Turenne*; the defeat of Monsieur *Crequi*; the taking of *Treves*, and the ill condition of the *Swedish* affairs; but most of all, the stanch resolutions of the confederates to avoid all separate treaties; have, I suppose, inclined *France* to set on foot the general one, by the offer they made of sending their Ambassadors to any town in four of the provinces belonging to the *States*; which gave some ease in that first
pace,

pace, of proposing a place for the congress which might be generally accepted.

Yet the confederates were not without their difficulties upon this point. They suspected the intentions of the *French* in this overture itself, as a piece of compliment and cajolery to this State; whose dispositions towards the peace they knew to be different from those of all the other confederates: they apprehended very real effects upon the issue of it, by the practices that might be carried on in these provinces by the *French* Ambassadors and their instruments, in such a concurrence of strangers as a general treaty was like to draw into them. Upon this ground the *Imperial* and *Spanish* have violently opposed the accepting this offer from *France*, and would have drawn the treaty to *Frankfort*, *Cologne*, *Bazil*, or *Hamburg*, rather than into any of these provinces.

The Prince of *Orange* himself, and the Pensioner here, with others of the *States*, had so much of jealousy in the matter, that they would rather have chosen the treaty in another country, and would by no means hear of either *Utrecht* or *Breda*, in regard of their vicinity to the heart of this province, where the pulse beats higher towards a peace, upon the interests of trade, than in any of the rest. But all of them were sensible, that it would not be borne by the people here, to refuse this offer of *France*, and thereby reject the treaty on this side, which seemed by it to have been so much advanced on the other.

From these reasons we fell into the thoughts of some town in *Gelderland*, and the most remote from hence, as the easiest to be accepted by the confederate Ministers; which fixed the proposition at length upon *Nimeguen*: though, indeed, the very situation of it, as a center between *Spain* and *Sweden*, the eastern parts of the empire and *England* (which are all to have parts in the treaty) made an appearance of some convenience, as well as necessity in the choice.

You

You will have known from *England* sooner than from hence, that I am designed by the King for one of his Ambassadors in this mediation: and I begin accordingly to turn my thoughts and affairs towards that remove; which, as to the air, being much drier than this, I do not dislike. As to the business, I expect an encrease of trouble and expence, as well as honour. I remove my whole family, put off my house here, and have fixed already upon one at *Nimeguen*: for which, with stables and out-houses necessary to it, I am like to pay a thousand pounds a year; which is but a part of those exactions like to be practised there upon this occasion, and which cannot be remedied by this State; where the Magistrates of each town have a jurisdiction uncontrollable by the *Sates* themselves, either general, or provincial, and are like themselves at *Nimeguen* to give us no remedy in this affair, which they are all concerned in.

What prospect there is of a peace like to result from this congress, upon what terms, or what time, is very difficult to tell you, the delays of it must be such as the parties please, it being in the power of either to raise them upon the formal or substantial parts of the negotiation. The conditions to be first proposed, will be distant enough, because they are like to come from all the several parties; though some of them would be glad his Majesty, as mediator, would draw the first scheme, according to what he shall esteem most just and agreeable to the common interests of *Christendom*: and they doubt not, but whatever peace his Majesty should propose, he may do it in such manner, as to make it easily accepted by all parties, and take upon him to be the arbiter as well as mediator in this great affair. But, for ought I see, our councils are fixed to act no such part; so as the mediation will not at all lead, but follow the dispositions of the parties, as these, I suppose, will do the events of the war, since

no suspension of arms is like to be agreed during the treaty.

The present dispositions, I think, are these: *France* will pretend to all their conquests, both of the last war and this; but would at present be content, I believe, to part with a town or two in *Flanders*, so as they may keep *Burgundy*; and will make no difficulty to leave the empire and this State as they were when the war began (after all this expence of blood and treasure). *Spain* seeing so many confederates united in their quarrel, and engaged to make no peace without their consent, reckons upon no less than the *Pyrenean* treaty, and would keep off this, till some successes of the confederates arms may make way for such conditions. The Emperor finding this war has almost united the empire in the interests of the house of *Austria*, and drawing money from these *States*, as well as from *Spain*, is very unwilling to lose the conjuncture, and therefore would be glad to have the war go on, and so will not only insist upon the restitution of *Lorraine* and *Philipsburgh*, but reparation of damages to the Princes of the *Rhine*. These *States* ask nothing for themselves, but the restitution of *Mastricht*, and of commerce as it was before the war; but think it necessary, for their own safety, that a good frontier be left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, and so will endeavour to have five or six good towns restored there, in exchange for *Burgundy*, which they are less concerned in. But all the allies agree in repossessing the Duke of *Lorraine*; which is a matter that *France* is most reserved in, as having no pretence either of right or conquest, there; and yet, justly esteeming it a matter of more importance to them, than all the rest; considering not only the force and riches of that province, but the situation of it and the absolute engagements of the present Duke to the interests and person of the Emperor. If these points could be

agreed

agreed, nothing that concerns the new quarrels in the North, would, I believe, hinder the peace: but upon the present state of the war and the mediation, I do not see any sudden issue very likely by a treaty: and how the events of another campaign may raise the hopes or fears, and thereby change the interests and pretensions of the several parties, no man can conjecture. In the mean time, I would not leave this place, nor end the year, without giving you this general scheme, by which you may the easier judge of the motions you shall hear of in the course of the treaty of the war, since you are pleased to say, it will be a satisfaction to you. I know it will be so, to hear we are all well at present here. My wife intends to make a step into England about the time I shall go to Nimeguen, but to return to me there within a month or two. My son, I hope, entertains you often from London, as my sister does from hence, which allows me to trouble you less.

I am ever, Sir,

Your most obedient son,

and most humble servant.

To Mr. Sidney.

SIR, Hague, December 13. N. S. 1675.

THOUGH I did not like the date of your last letter, yet I did all the rest very well. I thought Lyons a little too far off for one I wish always in my reach: but when I remembered, it was a place of so great trade, and where you told me yours had been very good in former times, I was contented, to think you spent your time to your own advantage and satisfaction, though not to your friends, by keeping at
such

such a distance. I was very well pleased t'other day with a visit made me by Captain *Fresheim*, who was much in your praises; but I did not like, that he should make you kinder to him than to me: yet I think he deserves it of you, if all be true that he tells, for he pretends to think you *le plus bel homme, & le plus bonnête homme*, and I know not what more, that never came into my head, as you know very well. However, I was mighty glad to hear him say, you had the best health that could be, and that you looked as if you would keep it, if you did not grow too kind to the place and company you lived in, or they to you. Yet, after what you tell me of the *French* air and *Bourbon* waters, I am much apter to wish myself there, than you in these parts of the world; and though I hear news every day from all sides, yet I have not heard any so good, since I came upon this scene, as what you send me, of the effects I am like to feel by the change whenever I come upon that where you are: they will be greater and better than any I can expect by being the busy man, though *je pourrais bien faire merveilles*, with the company I am joined to, and no body knows to what Sir *Ellis* may raise another Ambassador, that has already raised one from the dead. They begin to talk now of our going to *Nimeguen*, as if it were nearer than I thought it a month ago: when we are there, it will be time enough to tell you what I think of our coming away. Hitherto, I can only say, there are so many splinters in the broken bone, that the patient must be very good, as well as the surgeon, if it be a sudden cure. And though I believe both where you and I are, the dispositions towards it are very well, yet I doubt of those who are farther off on both sides of us. For ought any body knows, this great dance may end as others use to do, every man coming to the place where they begun, or near it: only, against all reason and custom, I doubt the poor *Swede*,
that

that never led the dance, is likeliest to pay the fidlers. I hope you know what passes at home; at least, 'tis pity you should not: but if you don't, you shall not for me at this distance; and since you talk of returning, the matter is not great. In the mean time, pray let me know your motions and your health, since the want of your cypher keeps me from other things you say you have a mind to tell me. I hear nothing of the letter you mention to have sent me by so good a hand; so that all I can say to that is, that by whatsoever it comes, any will be welcome that comes from yours; because no body loves you better than I, nor can be more than I am,

Yours, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

SIR, Hague, January 7. N. S. 1676.

I Spared you the trouble of a dispatch by the last post, which was made needless by one I received from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, with the account of his arrival here. You will have by this ordinary another from him, with the particulars of his reception and discourses with the Prince; as likewise one from us both, with the account of our resolutions how to dispose of ourselves, in order to our best compliance with those ends for our present embassy, which we conceive his Majesty has proposed to himself, and signified to us by our instructions. I shall refer you more particularly to those dispatches, and tie up this to what is necessary in answer to yours of the 21st past, which last packet brought to my hands.

I have not yet been able to bring the *States* to any resolution concerning the sending away passports for *Sweden* before the arrival of theirs here; the conferences

rences they have desired upon that subject, having been hitherto excused by the Emperor's Minister here, upon other pretences. But the Prince told me yesterday, that the true reason was, that neither that Minister, nor any others of the confederates here, were willing to do any thing in it, without Monsieur *de Lyra*, who is not yet returned from *Brussels*, though he has been for several days expected. He has written to the Prince, that he had the *Spanish* passports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and would put them into my hands upon his arrival here, which made me very glad to be, by advance, possessed of those from *France* for the *Spanish*. And immediately upon receipt of those from Monsieur *de Lyra*, (which, I hope, may be to-day or to-morrow, the wind being now fair from *Antwerp*) I will send both those and the *Dutch* by a trumpet to the governor of *Charleroy*, according to your orders.

I send you one inclosed, from the *States* to the Bishop of *Straßburgh*, since, as you observe, there is none expected from him, either to them, or any of their allies. I hope you endeavour the procuring passes from *France*, to be likewise dispatched for the Ministers of the several allies mentioned in the *States* resolution; and find, it will be expected, that among them should be three for the *States* Ambassadors, though the congress be in their own country, since, as Monsieur *Beverning* says, they may have occasion of moving sometimes themselves, and often of dispatching couriers, either into the *Spanish Netherlands*, or into *Germany*, where they go in danger of the *French*. For these reasons, I suppose, it will likewise be necessary to procure passports for his Majesty's Ambassadors there. All which, I hope, will be transmitted by the *French* Plenipotentiaries, if they are so forward on their way as we hear.

Yesterday

Yesterday I shewed the Prince and the *Lorrain* Envoy the *French* passports I received for the Minister of that Duke. Upon which subject, besides the discourses that passed yesterday, of which you will receive an account in a journal from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, I received this day the inclosed letter from Monsieur *Serinchamps*, and I doubt the matter will find difficulty on the confederate side, if it prove to have been a thing resolved on by the *French*, and not done by chance. I mean, the style given the Duke of *Lorrain*. As to the other omissions of the said passports, I think there will be likewise a necessity of amending them; since I find them not only in the *Lorrain*, but in the *Spanish* passports likewise; though having not shewed them yet to any *Spanish* Minister, I shall leave him to make his own exceptions: but I tell you of them before-hand, because they are so obvious, that no man can fail of them; and, by knowing them early, you may possibly save time, by preparing the *French* Court to amend them. They are these two: first, that they reach only to the persons of the Plenipotentiaries, and those of their train, without comprehending their baggage, horses, papers, or any such words: whereas you know very well what happened lately to the Cardinal of *Baden*, by such a passport. And, in the next place, there is no power given of dispatching couriers from the said Ambassadors with their passports, without which no negotiations can be carried on. Upon the amendment you desired in both these points to the passes of the *States*, though the defects were but one word too much, and another too little, I not only procured them, but likewise desired that the same form might be used by all the confederates, which I was assured of; and, to that end, copies have been sent them: and there is no question but they will insist to have them granted as full from *France*, as they have yielded themselves. That you may observe the distance

stance, I inclose a copy of one of the *French* passports, which you may please to compare with that of the *States* to the Bishop of *Strasburgh*, which runs in the same form with all the rest.

As to the neutral country, his Majesty apprehends the same difficulties that I did in obtaining it from *France*, so far as he has proposed it here. I confess, I thought when you gave me order to make instances for it to the *States*, so as to comprehend *Meurs*, you had taken your measures by Monsieur *Ruvigni*, and found by him that his master would be content to make the Prince of *Orange* such a compliment, as reached no further than a little contribution. The matter had not been great, if it had not been proposed here from his Majesty; but since it has, I hope they will not refuse it in *France*, since it is of some consequence as to the force of his mediation, when he is first refused by any of the parties, in what he thinks fit to propose, which he has been yet by none. In case, however, this should not succeed to the Prince of *Orange's* satisfaction, I think the least bounds his Majesty can prescribe for the neutral country that way, will be the *Fossa Mariana*, which runs from river to river; and the rather, because the inclusion of *Cleve* and the villages near it, will not be only necessary for the convenience of the congress, but for the residence of such persons as are expected to come from *Rome*: and besides, there will be no certainty in any other bounds that can be given by the denominations of towns. And without some such line as the channel I mention, both parties will be out upon prey, and trust to disputing after, whether the place where they made it was in the neutral country or no.

I hear Don *Emanuel de Lyra* is like to be, at last, one of the Plenipotentiaries, and come in as substituted by the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*, who shall be named first in the commission. I think it will be necessary

the

the *Spaniards* should be minded to avoid a difficulty which may arise, in case he receive not a commission like the others, from the King of *Spain*, but only from the Governor of *Flanders*; in which case he will not be treated as an Ambassador, whatever he may pretend: as, I remember, Monsieur *de Bergeyck* did, in the very same case, at *Aix la Chapelle*. I am,

SIR,

your most faithful

bumble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, January 7. N. S. 1676.

HAVING considered together, as well as we could, his Majesty's instructions, and his intentions in this embassy; and hearing that the *French* Plenipotentiaries are already on their way, and will be at *Mastricht* on the tenth of this month: and finding that the Plenipotentiaries of this State are here upon the place, watching our motion, their baggage being already laden in a bylander in this canal; we have concluded together, that there is no other way of complying with the scope and design which his Majesty seems to have proposed to himself in this affair, but by applying ourselves separately, at present, to the two several points, which seem to us to be intended by them. And therefore, that all parties concerned in the war may take notice of his Majesty's great diligence, in sending his Ambassadors to the place of congress, and of some of them being actually arrived there, whereby the several parties may be invited to the speedier dispatch of theirs: and likewise that an

Ambassador may not be wanting upon the place, to receive and compliment the first Ministers that arrive there from any of the parties: we have jointly resolved, that I, Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, shall set out towards *Nimeguen* to-morrow, for the accomplishment of the above-said ends. And, whereas, by an article in our instructions, we are commanded, before we leave the *Hague*, to see the business of the passports, and the declaration of the neuter country, put into such a way of dispatch, as that the business of the assembly may not be retarded, by any thing wanting on the part of the *States* and their allies. Whereas, an obstruction, by reason of the absence of Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, hath been lately made in the resolutions of the *States*, and their confederates, concerning both these points: and that a new incident (and, as we fear, of some consequence) hath yesterday discovered itself in the business of the passports, by the observation first of the Prince of *Orange*, and more sharply of the *Lorrain* Envoy, upon the defects of the *French* passports to that Prince. We have likewise jointly resolved, that I, Sir *William Temple*, shall stay some days longer at the *Hague*, to pursue and sollicite these two affairs, of the passports, and the neuter country, to a full and speedy issue. We have likewise jointly resolved, in order to make our public letters of less trouble to his Majesty by their length, to transmit from time to time, by way of journal (such as for an essay goes here inclosed) all the passages and matters of fact that occur to us as relating, in any wise, to this negotiation of the peace. We are,

SIR,

Your most faithful

humble servant.

W. Temple, L. Jenkins.

To

To the Bishop of Winchester.

My Lord,

Hague, January 8. N. S. 1676

I Have the honour of a letter from your Lordship, by Mr. Morley, and shall be extreme glad to deserve it, by the good fortune of serving him in the way you desire, and he proposes to himself. By what your Lordship writes, his pretensions are so small, that he might justly have claimed them, without the advantage of belonging to your Lordship, or of a recommendation that will always have so much power with me, in much greater matters. The circumstance of being so particularly under the eye of my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, will, I doubt not, keep him safe from any of those dangers abroad, in point of his morals, which you say he escaped at home, and from which no place is free. But, as far as my observation of him may be necessary, he shall not fail of it, with the concernment and care that are due from me to your Lordship's commands; in which I shall not yield to any of my colleagues, how great soever their pretensions may be to your Lordship's friendship, or their emulation upon any such occasion of your service. I was extreme glad to receive the knowledge of your Lordship's good health, and with it a testimony of your favour and remembrance, which I can pretend no otherway sto deserve, than by the resolutions I have so long taken, and constantly observed, of being always, with great passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

and most humble servant.

T

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

SIR,

Hague, January 14. N. S. 1676.

BY the last paquet I received together both your's of the 24th and 28th, with his Majesty's resolution, that we shall expect the first visit be made us as mediators, by all the Ministers of what character soever, arriving even after us at the place of congress. And with this order I received the ground of it, which was the instruction given upon this point to his Majesty's Ambassadors at *Cologne*, and their practice in pursuit thereof. His Majesty's commands shall in this, as all other matters, be obeyed: but I had not heard any thing of this from Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, before he parted hence: though we had often discoursed upon the conception we both had, of using the contrary form to all Ambassadors that arrived after us. And upon discourse with the Prince, since I received this instruction, he said, the precedent of what was done at *Cologne*, ought certainly to guide us; but that he thought it had passed otherwise with their Ambassadors. This evening Monsieur *Beverning*, and Monsieur *Haren*, came to me, to let me know, that, having acquainted the *States* with their being both ready to begin their journey, upon the first commands, they had received orders to attend me, and entirely follow what I should advise them in that point; and in all matters of ceremony, when they came upon the place, to conform themselves wholly to what we expected from them. And they were farther ordered to acquaint me, that after our arrival there, the *States* would look upon the town of *Nimeguen* as a neutral place, where all matters should be carried by the Burgomasters command there, according to the orders they should receive from the mediators, both as to their own receptions, or that of any other Ambassadors.

I answered to the several points, after acknowledgment of the *States* civility in their resolutions ; first, since an Ambassador of his Majesty was already upon his way thither, I thought it would be best for them to begin their journey likewise, as soon as they could, both in respect to his Majesty, and likewise to give the more and earlier appearance to the world, of the congress beginning to be formed : and hereupon they assured me, they would part in two or three days.

To the second, I told them, that his Majesty expected the several Ambassadors, though arriving last upon the place, should give the first visit to us as mediators ; since the same was done to the *Swedes* at *Cologne*, by his Majesty's Ambassadors. To this they answered, there would be no difficulty on their parts, but they doubted there might be some from the other Ambassadors ; since they had taken it for granted at *Cologne*, that the mediators had still visited those who arrived after them ; and whatever might have been done there by his Majesty's Ambassadors, they were sure the contrary had been done to them (the *States* Ambassadors) who had less reason to expect it : and that arriving last both at *Aix*, and after at *Cologne*, the *Swedish* Ambassadors made them the first visit in both places, after notice sent of their arrival. And they desired me to give you this information, not in regard of any concernment they could have in it, who were resolved to give us the first visit, though they should last arrive ; but to the end you should consider, what measures would best prevent contests, or difficulties of meetings, in case any other of the Ambassadors should refuse it ; since there may be difference between what is voluntarily given by each party, and what is challenged by the mediators, and insisted upon in case any of the parties dispute it. I told them, I should let you know what they said upon this point ; but must follow

follow my orders, in case we received no new ones therein.

To the third, of the magistrates and officers being to receive our orders as to matters of receptions, I told them, his Majesty had commanded us to admit of none, but to enter the town with our trains, and nothing more; and in all points, to introduce, as far as we were able, the form of living like private persons among all the several Ministers, during the whole course of the assembly. But since we refused any public honour or reception, we did not think it reasonable any other should have it. They replied, all the difficulties would be, in case the others desired it, which we did not; and that might possibly happen from the Emperor's Ambassadors: and Monsieur *Beverning* said particularly, he did expect it from Monsieur *Golbert*, by what he had done of that kind at *Aix la Chapelle* in the treaty of 1668. But if any of them should demand it at *Nimeguen*, they would answer, that address must be made to the mediators in it, whose orders were wholly to be obeyed. I answered, whenever that was done, we would acquit ourselves the best we could, and the nearest to what we conceive was his Majesty's intention.

Upon the news of the *French* Plenipotentiaries being upon the way, and staying at *Charleville* for their passports from *Flanders* and this State, though Don *Emanuel de Lyra* was not arrived with those from *Brussels*, which, I hear, he is possessed of, with orders to put them into my hands; yet I had a mind to send away those of the *States*: but knowing it would be of no use, unless it were done with the *States* consents, on *Sunday* last, meeting the Pensioner with the Prince, I asked his Highness, whether he were content I should send them away? and the Pensioner, whether he thought the *States* would likewise consent? both of them told me, as to their opinions, they were, that the

the *States* passports should not be sent, till I had received the *French* passports for their Ambassadors, and for the Ministers of all their allies mentioned in that resolution given me upon this subject (and which I transmitted to you), and this in the same form, or as full as those they had agreed upon according to our amendments. They said further, that their passports could be of no use, till those of *Spain* were likewise sent (through whose countries they first must pass,) and, they were sure, those would not be delivered by the *Spanish* Ministers, without receiving those from *France* at the same time, and in the same form. But after all our discourse, they both said, they could tell me but their own opinions, and that the State must be consulted upon it.

Yesterday the Prince dining with me, told me, the *States* had been of the same mind; and that I should receive their resolution upon it before this packet went; but it is not yet come, though I am now within half an hour of its usual time of closing, having been unexpectedly detained by a long visit from the two *Dutch* Ambassadors; which makes me beg of you, to let one of your clerks return me a copy of this letter.

I have not heard one word from Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, since he parted from hence on *Thursday* night; and doubt very much the delays of the passage he would needs chuse by water in a yacht of the *States*, to avoid the ill way between *Utrecht* and *Aarnham* by the breaches of digues; the winds having changed the very day after he parted, and continued so contrary ever since, that I cannot imagine how he will get up the river. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, January 17. N. S. 1676.

I Received the honour of a letter from your Lordship the beginning of this week by Mr. *Widdrington*, who shall not fail of any services I can do him here, as I have already assured him, and desired him to let me know all occasions wherein he thinks he can make use of me. I had the opportunity of bringing him to his Highness, who dined that day with me; and to give him the better entrance, I shewed the Prince your Lordship's letter. He read it, and smiled at the latter part of it; but when he had done, he came to me, and desired me to remember his service to you, and assure you, how much he valued your recommendation; and that Mr. *Widdrington* should find it by all the encouragement he could give him. After a little stop, he said; and for the latter part of his letter, pray tell him, they are very much mistaken; and then pausing a little, as if he were concerned at it; he said, God! I never said any thing to *Sylvius*, that I was not content my coachman should know. I laughed, and asked him, and would you have me tell my Lord Treasurer so too? he turned about, and said resolutely, yes, do. I entered no farther into this matter, nor should have said this, but that the Prince bid me; and seemed concerned, that what your Lordship writ upon that subject should be believed there. The use I made of it was a little more important; which was, to go since to the Prince and tell him, that being now upon my journey to *Nimeguen*, and having been here a year and a half, his Majesty would have reason to think he had been very ill served, if in all this time I were not able to give him a right and full account of his Highness's intentions in what his Majesty concerned himself; but that the King should be
still

still in pain to know them, and casting about by what hand to find them out. The Prince said, he could not say more to me, than he had said to me already, and written to the King upon all occasions; and, that he could not tell what more we would know of him, nor why Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* was sent over, when the compliment might either have been spared, or made by Mr. *Skelton* as he passed by. However, I endeavoured to draw what new light I could from his Highness; and comparing all he had said with all that I had gathered from the current of his former discourses to me, upon any points wherein I thought his Majesty was concerned to know the bottom of all he means, I thought fit to set it down in writing; and that I might know whether I had in every thing rightly apprehended him or no, I shewed it him, and send your Lordship the paper inclosed, and what his Highness said to me upon reading of it.

I desire your Lordship will please to shew it to his Majesty, with this account of the occasion of it, which was given me by your Lordship: and, for my own part, I believe, this is what his Majesty must trust to, as to the Prince's pretensions, and that no talk or reasoning will alter them, nor any thing else beside some new and great accidents or changes in the affairs of the parties now in war.

However, this need not discourage his Majesty from endeavouring to know more from his Highness by any other hand; though he said lately to me, upon some of these discourses, that whenever he could say any thing wherewith he thought his Majesty would be more pleased, he would be sure to do it by me. For the truth of all this, if his Majesty desires to be further satisfied in it, I am very well content he should send this letter and the inclosed paper to the Prince, which will be the infallible way of knowing it, and without engaging me further in the ill will or expostulation of

Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, or his patrons ; though their meaning to me, in the way they designed his coming over hither, and endeavoured it for three months together, has been but too well discovered to me, as it has been, I am sure, very little deserved. He is not yet come, though I have expected him every day this fortnight past ; and resolve upon his arrival to carry myself to him in all points as becomes me, to a person sent by his Majesty hither, and give him any assistances he desires me.

There is a point of instruction I received last post from Mr. Secretary *Willamson*, which I would likewise be glad his Majesty would please once more to reflect upon, as a thing that may possibly bring an ill incident upon the course of the treaty. It is, that his Majesty's Ambassadors should expect the first visit from all others, even that arrive after them at the place of congress ; and this is grounded upon an instruction to those at *Cologne*, to give it, in the same case, to the *Swedes*, as then mediators, and upon their having actually done so. Now the *Dutch* Ambassadors on the contrary, arriving after the *Swedes* at *Cologne*, received, without any difficulty, the first visit from them, and thought all others had done so too : and it appears by our Ambassadors journal, that, though they did it, yet the *Swedish* Ambassadors intended it first to them, and had accordingly sent a gentleman to ask an hour of them. Now there is a great deal of difference between what is voluntarily given, and what is of due demanded. And, though the *Dutch* Ambassadors are resolved to do it, yet if those of the Emperor, or the other greater Crowns, should make a difficulty, as I foresee they may, the congress might be *accroché des ceremonies* between the parties and mediators, whose business it is to prevent or compose them between the parties themselves. Besides, this State has resolved to look upon *Nimeguen*, not only as a neutral town during the treaty,

ty, but, in a manner, put it into the hands of the mediators, by ordering both the commander and magistrates to take orders from them upon all emergencies: so that it seems to belong to them, not only as mediators, but as persons at home, to do the honour of the congress to those that arrive after them.

It will be a troublesome thing, I doubt, to his Majesty, to give very particular instructions upon every point of ceremony that may arise: and therefore when he resolves upon this, I know not whether the easiest will not be, to send us one general instruction, commanding us to avoid all, as far as we can, both between the mediators and parties, and between the parties themselves; and when that cannot be, to leave it to us upon the place, to act in point of ceremony by consent, as we judge best for his Majesty's honour, his ends in the mediation, and the practice of other Princes, but particularly that of the treaty at *Cologne*; of which Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* is so well informed.

I humbly beg your Lordship's pardon for so long a trouble, which I should not have given you, had not I thought it necessary for his Majesty's service: and you will forgive me the easier, because I am so much what I shall ever be,

My Lord,

your Lordship's most faithful &c.

The Paper inclosed.

Hague, January 17. N. S. 1676.

AS far as I can any way discover of his Highness's intentions, they are these,

First, As to his Majesty, to live always not only with the duty and respect that becomes him, but with all

all the kindness, and nearest conjunction of interests that can be, while his Majesty pleases to continue the desires of it; and that affection which he has professed to him by so many letters, and so many several hands, and now lately by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*.

As to the peace; the Prince says to me upon all occasions, that he, for his own part, would be very glad to make it upon any terms his Majesty should think fit; if his Majesty can prevail with *Spain* to consent to it, which his Highness doubts, he himself shall not be able to do; and he finds this State so far obliged to that Crown, both by their treaties, and for their assistance in their late extremities, that he does not see how they can break from them; or, if they should, who would afterwards trust them.

That the greatest testimony his Majesty can give his Highness of his real kindness and good-will to him, would be to bring him out of this war with some safety to his honour, and to his country: and thereby to shew the world, that as none of his Majesty's allies were nearer to him in blood, nor truer to him in affection; so he considered none of their interests more than his in this present quarrel.

That the best way to this, that his Highness can think of, in respect of the honour of *France*, and his Majesty's particular advantage, as well as the certainty of a sudden peace, was that which had some time since been mentioned to his Majesty, of effecting a match between the King of *Spain* and *Mademoiselle*, with the conquests since 1666 for her dowry; and in this case, his Highness would undertake for such a present, as the Pensioner then spoke to his Majesty, and doubted not to persuade *Spain* to do as much. But if this could not be, then he saw no way left, but for his Majesty to dispose *France* to restore those towns in *Flanders*, which were necessary to leave the *Spanish Netherlands*

Netherlands in a condition of defence: upon which his Highness and this State would use their utmost endeavours to incline *Spain* to a peace. And his Highness says, upon all occasions, that he is sure his Majesty may do either of these, whenever he pleases, and without any difficulty at all; and, he believes, without going against any interests of his own, or his kingdom's.

That if neither of these can be compassed, and *France* resolve to have no peace, but upon the foot of affairs as they stand at present; and his Majesty will only consider their possession, and not the justice of it, or interest of *Christendom*, in it; his Highness says very plainly, that though he wishes his Majesty all the glory that can be, by the present mediation; and this State will contribute all they can towards it: yet for his own part, he sees no remedy but that they must try the fortune of another campaign; in which he hopes so to behave himself, as that his Majesty shall not be ashamed of him; nor at all lessen the kindness or good opinion he has hitherto expressed for him.

Having read this paper to his Highness, and asked, whether I had apprehended him right; he said, so right, that if you had been within him, you could not have done it better: and if I were the best *Catholic* in the world, and you were my confessor, I could say no more to you.

I asked, but can you say no more to any other man? His Highness answered, I would not say so much to any other, but can say more to no man.

To Sir Edward Dearing.

SIR,

Hague, February 18. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge two of yours, one of the 25th past, the other without date, from yourself and the company of Merchant-Adventurers. As to the last, I find by a clause of it, or, at least, I conjecture, that my letter to Sir *Richard Ford* upon that subject, had been communicated to you; in which case I can find little to add upon that matter, unless it be the assurance of my continuing my good wishes and endeavours to the service of the company, as far as I can any way make use of his Majesty's character or commands, or they can make use of me, or my small credit here, upon this occasion. I follow the method in it, which is judged by the Gentlemen of the company at *Dort*, most advantageous to the ends they propose to themselves: so that if they want my assistance, where it can be of any use to them, it is their own faults. The *States of Holland* have not, that I hear of yet, given their opinion, or answer, upon the last papers offered by the Secretary of the company; and have promised that nothing shall be concluded, till I have first had a conference with the *States General* upon it, which will be the time for me to fall in with any weight upon this matter. There is, I confess, a circumstance in the constitution of this government, very unlucky to the retrieving of an affair that is once past, as very favourable towards preventing it before it be done; which is, the necessary consent of so many members in each province, as well as in the State. I made use of this circumstance to fence against this resolution of the *States*, for three years together, during my last ambassage; and should not have questioned the same success, if it had been kept off till my return. But it was done in the little interval Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* was here,

here, before my last arrival: and what I shall be able to do towards the recovery of it, I cannot promise; but shall be very glad to give you effects instead of assurances.

What I have said here, answers likewise the first part of your own letter. For the rest of it, I am extremely obliged by your kindness, in giving me part of any thing that touches your own particular; believing it to proceed from your justice in esteeming me (what I am very much) concerned in all that does so. I am very glad of your coming into the commission of the customs, because I remember it was a thing you wished; otherwise I should rather have desired to see you called to his Majesty's service in another sort of sphere, and in which his choice is not so large, as, I suppose, it may be in this. In such a case I should be glad to have served you; in this I neither pretend to it, nor am very ambitious of the merit, which I esteem so ill proportioned to yours. And therefore, I ought, in true old *English* phrase, to give you thanks for your thanks, as what is wholly of your grace, and does not at all belong to me.

I had a letter from you some time since, upon your coming to be Governor of the company, and directed my answer to be left at Sir Robert Southwell's: I wrote to him since about a business of his own, or, at least, that he had much concerned himself in, but have not heard that either of them were received, which I should be glad to know by a line from him when he is at leisure. My wife and sister are your humble servants, and so am I, with very much affection and truth.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, January 21. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge at the same time two of yours by Mr. Skelton, of which one to myself, and the other to Sir Lyonell Jenkins and me, with duplicates of Mr. Skelton's dispatches; and a third by the last packet of the 4th current. Upon the two first, I shall refer myself to Mr. Skelton's dispatches, which he said he would make this night, with an account of all that passed in his audience from the Prince, and conference with the Pensioner; as likewise what shall pass this evening, at a conference we are to have with the States. I am sorry to find he is not like to carry with him to Vienna the joint offices of the States; but hope his Majesty's will be of force enough not to need them. You know very well what accounts I have still given you, of the States obstinacy upon this subject, not to meddle in it, one way or other, upon the score of Prince William's carriage particularly to this State, which the Pensioner to day aggravated by many circumstances; and repeated it several times, that they could not be advocates for him, without falling into *le mepris de tout le monde*. Both the Prince and the Pensioner seemed amazed at Mr. Skelton's saying, that he believed his Majesty has been engaged in this desire to the States, by Monsieur Van Beuninghen's assurance of their compliance with it; and the Prince says, it has been without any orders; but the Pensioner affirms, it has been absolutely against his orders, if he has done it. And, I fear, you will have reason to judge from this pace of his, and his violent pressing Sir Lyonell Jenkins's hasty dispatch, that you may very often take wrong measures from him there, if they agree not with what you receive from hence; and that his natural dispositions enter much into the motions he makes.

makes. Of all which I gave you advice, when I was in *England*, at large,; as well as of the true reasons that will hinder his Masters from taking so far notice of all these passages, as to think of recalling him. I have since written something of it likewise to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, upon occasions he gave me, by some letters of his, to think this matter was not well enough understood, or taken notice of there.

I have little to say in answer to your's upon the business of passports, the great default being yet in your hands, to supply by new ones from *France*, in form, and for all the allies. You will find, by the inclosed memorial of Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, that the passports from *Spain* are arrived for *France* and *Sweden*; and they will not fail for the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, I suppose, since this morning the Emperor's Minister tends me word, that his Master has accorded them for him, as well as for the other two, and that he expects them next week. The *States* also let me know, that they have assurance of those from *Lunenburg*, as well as *Brandenburg*, by the first. But for *Denmark*, they do not speak with so much confidence; their Ministers here have been peremptory, not to have any sent into *Sweden*, till those from that Crown are first in my hands; but for themselves, they have spoken so ambiguously of theirs, that the *States* have resolved to send an express to *Copenhagen*, to procure the expedition of them; and to let them know, that if they are not dispatched hither within a certain time, they (the *States*) will send theirs away for *Sweden*.

I have not yet seen Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, since his return from *Brussels*, and so cannot give you an account of the certainty of what is here reported concerning Don *Juan's* being in the head of affairs in *Spain*. From *France* I have never had more than one short letter upon Lord *Berkly's* arrival, though I have writ several times; so that whether it arrives by miscarri-

ages of letters (to which mine between *Paris* and this place have been very much subject, since my arrival here; or from my Lord *Berkly's* little health, or great affairs; I find I must depend upon no advices from *France*, nor motions in order to the congress, but what must be handed by you to me here: which I thought was necessary for you to know.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your most faithful,

Wm. Temple
bumble servant.

P. S. Monsieur *Beverning*, before he went out of town, sent me the inclosed copy of his journal at *Cologne*, concerning the visits of the *Swedish* Ambassadors to them: not that they are concerned, who resolve to make the first visit, though arriving last, but from an apprehension that others may make difficulty of it.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, January 24. N. S. 1676.

IN my last, of this day se'night, I endeavoured to give your Lordship a full account of the Prince of *Orange's* intentions; which his Majesty was, it seems, still in pain to know. Since that time Mr. *Skelton* arriving here, and telling me (as well as the Prince) several things the King had said to him upon that subject, has given me occasion to add something upon it, to the end his Majesty may in all points know the very bottom of it, and take his measures accordingly: for, as far as I understand, all matters are carried on according to the personal dispositions of the men that are at

at the head of them, and the Prince is a man as difficult as ever I knew, to be talked either into or out of any thing, wherein he thinks his honour or interest concerned.

Mr. *Skelton* told the Prince, that his Majesty knew very well there were some *little people* about his Highness, that endeavoured to persuade him, the King had not the kindness for him he professed; at least, not so much as for *France*: but I assured him of the contrary; and that his Majesty would shew it by the measures he intended to take with him, after the peace was made. Upon the first words the Prince answered, that he desired nothing in the world more, than that the King would have the kindness for him he professed. Mr. *Skelton*, I remember, made some reflexions to me; and thought it sounded as if the Prince doubted it. And I remember Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, upon his several discourses with his Highness, said, he doubted the Prince had something lay at heart. I will first tell your Lordship, that, now *Moulin* is no longer about the Prince, I do not suspect any others I see near him, of the design to sow ill impressions of his Majesty's intentions; nor do I really think he has, any further than might be gathered from his discourses in my last paper: that is, he believes his Majesty will not, for his sake, break any of the measures he has of late years taken with *France*. He thinks some partiality is shewed in the business of the *levies*; and is troubled that his Majesty will not bring him out of this war with some honour, which he believes may be done (as he often says) with a word speaking: and that, as affairs stand in *Christendom*, *France* cannot refuse any thing his Majesty shall desire. And from these impressions he says upon discourse, that effects only, and not any words or expressions, can remove him.

Mr. *Skelton* told me (and, I suppose, the Prince too) that his Majesty would undertake for any conditions

tions upon a peace, that the Prince should propose of advantage to himself. I have often talked with his Highness upon that subject: and on occasion of Monsieur *Ruvigni's* proposing his Master buying all his lands in the county of *Burgundy*, even at a value unreasonable; I have ever found him so cold upon this subject, that, in short, nothing will be fastened on him. And, I remember, at last he told me, that he knew to another man it would look like affectation, and therefore he would not say it; but to me that knew him so well, he would tell me very truly, that, though he understood very well the value of his lands in *Burgundy*; yet, upon the peace, he would be content to lose them all, to get one good town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

Because I mentioned in my last paper, an offer that had been made his Majesty by the Pensioner, upon a match between the King of *Spain* and *Madamoiselle*, with the *French* conquests for her dowry; which was a thing the Prince's head has run mightily upon, as in his Majesty's power to bring about; though I do not think it at all likely, or that the restoring even of the *Swedes* to all they have lost, could either dispose *France* to it, or engage his Majesty in an earnest pursuit of it: yet because I doubt your Lordship has not heard any thing before of that matter, when it went from hence in some of my letters about a year ago; I thought it was fit to explain to you so far only as to let you know, the sum offered by the Pensioner to be paid privately upon it into his Majesty's treasure, was two hundred thousand pounds; and the like sum to be endeavoured by them from the *Spaniards*; which the Prince, as I said in my last, told me he did not doubt of. This is the utmost of what I can say upon this subject, but I shall be glad if any other persons can find out more of the Prince's intentions, or any thing that his Majesty will be better pleased with.

But,

But, I doubt, they are these at present, and that they will not change by other means than some new accidents or revolutions in the farther course of time or war.

I ask your Lordship's pardon for this farther trouble, and shall not increase it beyond the assurances of my being ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, January 24. N. S. 1676.

I Was extremely sorry to find by yours of the 27th past, so ill an account of your health of late, which I had heard nothing of before; but what Monsieur *Spanheim* told me at his return hither, of your being ill of the gout, without more circumstances. But such an attack as you speak of, deserves more than ordinary of your own philosophy, and your friends concernment; among whom my share, I am sure, does not fail you. I hope your health will change with the season, and that the spring will cure what, it seems, came upon you with the last fall, and has continued so long.

I suppose you had not seen Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* very lately before you writ, or else you would have known more than you did of the effects my discourses had with the Pensioner, upon the subject of the packet-boats. For though he does not use to fail in what he promises, and sets down for the help of his memory (both which he did upon this occasion); yet I complained to the Prince, after having received your last, that nothing had been written upon it to Monsieur

sieur *Van Beuninghen*, though the Pensioner had promised that should be done. For he had seen letters that post from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, which acknowledged those he had received upon that subject. So that, till I hear you find them short of what they were intended for, I know nothing more to be done on this side, towards your satisfaction in that small affair.

I very well understand the bias you are pleased to give to what I said, of your being like to be informed of all that passed here, when Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* arrives, by the thanks you give me for that assurance; though you might, I think, have very lawfully turned it another way, upon the notice I gave you, at the same time, of my leaving this place, upon my journey designed for *Nimeguen*: yet, since you rather chose to give it this *tour*, I will very easily, and like a plain man, confess to you, that, considering the manner in which you intended Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* should come over hither, I had no reason to believe at all, you cared for any advices I could give you from hence; or believed they were worth his Majesty's receiving, or, at least, considering. Which is all I shall say upon that matter, having not the vein of being pleasant, nor the disposition of being unpleasant to you, upon this or any other occasion.

I humbly thank you for your good wishes to the negotiation I am like to be employed in; and in which I had need of something at least like that to please me, considering the circumstances of trouble and expence with which I am likely to enter upon it; and without any help in one from the exchequer, or in the other from my Lord *Berkly*, for the success of it. I believe you can guess as far and as well as any man else, and will need none of my conjectures; which are only that

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 159

that it will, like all other affairs, depend upon the accidents that shall fall in, more than the design, or skill, of those that play the game,

I am ever

your most faithful

humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

SIR, Hague, January 28. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge yours of the 11th, with the repetition of his Majesty's orders, for his Ambassadors to expect the first visits from all others at the place of congress, though last comers. I suppose, if *France* consents to it by agreement, and *Sweden* upon precedent, as you please to say, and this State upon resolutions already taken; there cannot reasonably be any difficulty made upon it by the rest: or, if there should, his Majesty will be as much at leisure as any of the parties to deliberate upon it. For the point of solemn entries, I concerted that whole matter with Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* before he went; so as he hath already given the example, and seen it followed by the *Dutch* Ambassadors, upon their late arrival.

I inclose you the copy of a letter I received this afternoon from Monsieur *Pompone*, upon the subject of his Majesty's late representations by Monsieur *Ruvigni*, concerning the exceptions taken here to the *French* passports. I shall not communicate it to the *States*, nor make any answer that will be authorised here upon it, till I am impowered to do both by his Majesty's orders: which I hope I may receive by the next post, finding the substance of this letter had been transmitted into *England*, at the same time with the dispatch to me.

In

In the mean time I thought fit to go immediately to the Prince, and acquaint him with it; desiring to know, if he pleased to have me, by advance, give his Majesty his sense upon it. His Highness, having read it very considerately, said very frankly, that he would tell me his thoughts, and that I might let his Majesty know them; but that he would not answer what those of the State might be. Upon the first point, he said there was a mistake: that the words omitted were not only *papiers* or *ecritures*, but *hardes*, *baggages*, *chevaux*, *chariots*, &c. And that they had not there thought the words *papiers* or *ecritures* necessary, or inserted them, had not I made instances to the *States*, upon particular orders from *England*, to that purpose; which they supposed, with the other amendment transmitted to me, had been concerted with the *French* Minister there.

For the second, that his Highness believed, no congress ever was formed, without that power given the Ministers of dispatching couriers; nor did believe this could have any effect without. That the Ambassadors of this State would (he supposed) find it necessary to write to him from the congress where-ever he was, either here or in the field; because he did not think the *States* would make any great paces in such a negotiation, without his advice. That however, though the *States* would be willing to dispense with it, as *France* was content to do; yet it would alter all the measures had been taken in this matter already, by my agreeing with them in the form of passports. For those from *Spain* were already come, and those from all the confederates were upon the way, in the same form: so that if *France* should make this change, though the confederates should all consent to it; yet the new form must be sent to them all, and new passports dispatched upon it. That neither the *States*, nor their allies, would

would (he was sure) consent to give them any larger form than what they received.

For the third point, concerning *Lorrain*, that it was of much more importance than the rest; and that his Highness believed it was the best news could be sent to those of the confederates that desired not the peace. That he had never thought *France* pretended a right to the Duchy of *Lorrain*: that he would not enter into the argument upon the treaty of 1662, mentioned by Monsieur *Pompone*; but that this State had lately renewed with this Duke, the treaty they had made with the last; and doubted they could not treat at *Nimeguen*, any more than at *Cologne*, without admission of the *Lorrain* Ministers: but he was very sure (which he repeated several times) that the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* would not do it; especially after this pretence made by *France* to that Duchy; which, for that reason, his Highness was glad I did not make public, till I received orders from his Majesty upon it. He concluded, that all this was before his Majesty as mediator, whose part was to observe the justice of each party's pretensions, and induce them to reason upon it. That I had told him, his Majesty had concerned himself already in it, and in those very words. That he had thought this particular of *Lorrain* somewhat strange, and had spoken to Monsieur *Ruvigni* about it, besides what had been represented to him upon the other points; and that his Majesty being sensible of the reasons of it, he did not doubt would set all right. His Highness added, that now his Majesty found, how long a work the forming of a congress would prove (which yet was absolutely necessary to a peace) he hoped he would not suffer the steps that were already made to be lost; since if that should begin again at the end of next campaign, for ought he he saw, the Assembly might not meet before another campaign were, at least, approaching.

This is the substance of what his Highness told me upon Monsieur *Pompone's* letter; though with more length, and with such a readiness, as shewed me he had the full grasp of all his business himself: and I wondred, I confess, to hear him repeat the little things that had passed upon the first head between me and the Pensioner, and the words I had told him out of your letter of the 7th; having hardly myself remembered the last, and not thought the Pensioner had troubled him with such circumstances as the first. When he had done, I asked his Highness, whether I should write all this to his Majesty as his sense? And having repeated it to him, he desired I would, and by this post, for gaining time. I have been so long with the Prince upon this occasion, that I have no more time left than will serve to assure you of my being,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To Monsieur *Pompone*.*Hague, Jan. 30. N. S. 1676.*

SIR,

THE day before yesterday I had the honour of yours of the 21st, concerning the necessary passports for forming the congress at *Nimeguen*, where his Excellency the English Ambassador *Jenkins* has been for near three weeks, and two of the Ambassadors of *Holland* more than eight days; in expectation of speedily meeting the rest of the Ministers of which this assembly is to be composed. What keeps me here is nothing but the difficulties

Au Monsieur *Pompone*.*La Haye, Jan. 30me.*

S. N. 1676.

Monsieur,

J'AY reçu devant hier l'honneur de la vôtre du 21re, sur le sujet de passeports nécessaires à former le congrez de *Nimegue*, ou Monsieur l'Ambassadeur *Jenkins* a déjà séjourné près de trois semaines, & deux des Ambassadeurs de cet Etat, plus de huit jours, dans l'esperance d'y voir bientôt les autres Ministres qui doivent

culties which have been lately started about the affair of the passports; those of this State are now in my hands, and those of the Crown of Spain are in the hands of Monsieur de Lyra, the Spanish Envoy. Without doubt you must have received, by the care of Monsieur de Ruvigni, copies of the resolutions of the States General, and of a memorial from Monsieur de Lyra, setting forth their intentions, not to put the one into my hands, nor send the others to the Lords the French Ambassadors, until I shall be possessed of reciprocal passports from his most Christian Majesty to make the exchange.

As for the difficulties which are here made about the passports for Spain, which Monsieur Ruvigni caused to be sent some time since, I should not have thought them of importance enough to fall under so long consideration, had you not communicated your thoughts to me on that head; since it is well known, that in concert with the States General I settled the form of those passports, by order of the King my master,

and

vent composer la dite assemblée. Je ne suis icy detenu que par les seules difficultez survenues depuis peu dans cette affaire des passeports, dont ceux de cet Etat sont entre mes mains, & ceux d'Espagne en celles de Monsieur de Lyra, Envoyé de cette couronne la. Mais vous aurez sans doute déjà reçu par l'entremise de Monsieur de Ruvigni, les copies de la resolution des Etats Generaux, & d'une memoire de Monsieur de Lyra, contenant leurs intentions, que les uns ne me seront pas mis entre les mains, ni les autres envoyez à Messieurs les Ambassadeurs de France, jusqu'à ce que je seray en possession des passeports reciproques de sa Majesté tres Chrétienne pour en faire l'échange.

Pour les difficultez qu'on a fait icy sur les passeports pour l'Espagne, que Monsieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems; je ne les aurois pas crû assez importantes pour meriter tant de consideration, sans les reflexions que vous avez fait la dessus, puisqu'il faut avouer que j'ay concerté avec les Etats Generaux le formulaire

and recommended it to their care to see that the passports of all the other allies, should be drawn up in perfect conformity to them; which they accordingly took upon themselves to do, in compliance with my requests. I could not make any doubt, but the said form of passports (being taken from that of those used at *Cologne*, and having undergone the corrections of Mr. Secretary *Williamson*) had been resolved upon at *London*, in concert with Monsieur *Ruvigni*. The Lords the *States General* were of the same opinion; and pretend that the reciprocal passports of *France* and *Sweden*, ought to be given in as ample a form as those agreed upon by all the confederates.

As for the importance of those two points, on which all the difficulties here are founded, you will be pleased to observe, that for the first, it is not only the word [*papiers*] papers, that is said to be omitted, but also the words [*baggage, hardes, equipage*] baggage, goods, and equipage, and such like other words, usually inserted in this place in passports; and which I find in those passports which his most Christian Majesty granted to the Plenipotentiaries of *Holland* at *Cologn*. The

word

laire des passeports, par ordre du Roy mon maître, & leur ay recommandé le soin de faire en sorte que ceux de tous leur alliés fussent dressés sur le même, de quoy ils se sont chargé à mes instances. Et j'ay toujours crû que la dite forme ayant été dressée sur celle dont on s'est servi à Cologne, & corrigée sur les reflexions de Monsieur le Secrétaire Williamson, elle avoit été résolue à Londres par concert avec Monsieur de Ruvigni. Messieurs les Etats Generaux en ont crû le même, & pretendent que les passeports reciproques de France & de Suede, soient donné d'une forme aussi ample que ceux qui sont accordés par tous les confederéz.

Pour ce qui est de l'importance de ces deux points sur lesquelles on a icy fondé les difficultez, vous remarquerez si vous plaît, qu'au premier ce n'est pas le seul mot de papiers qui manque, mais ceux aussi de baggage, hardes, equipage, & les autres accoutumés en cet endroit de passeports, & que je vois dans ceux que sa Majesté tres Chrétienne a accordé aux Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat à Cologne,

word *papiers* was not in the form proposed here, but added by Mr. Secretary *Williamson*. As for the other point, namely, about the liberty of the several Ministers at the congress, to send their couriers, barely in virtue of their own simple passports: I own that I am of opinion, that it is a thing not only practised constantly on all these occasions, but, indeed, a thing of absolute necessity to bring the negotiations to a happy conclusion; by securing that safety and ease of corresponding between Princes and their Ministers; who can never come with such full and perfect instructions, as never to have any occasion to have recourse to their masters for new orders, upon the many unforeseen incidents to which treaties are subject. In the first form of passports sent by me into *England*, the expression was, that the couriers of the Plenipotentiaries, in virtue of a good passport, should be free: but I received orders from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, to blot out the word *good*, and that in order to take away all difficulties and disputes which might hence arise, in an affair so essential to such negotiations.

Cologne. Le mot de *papiers* avoit été ajouté par Monsieur le Secrétaire *Williamson*, ne se trouvant pas dans le formulaire proposé icy. Pour l'autre point, de la liberté de Ministres au congrez de faire passer leur couriers sur leurs simples passeports: j'avoue d'avoir cru que c'étoit une circonstance non seulement pratiquée en toutes telles occasions, mais en effet fort nécessaire à faire reussir les negotiations, par la seureté & facilité de communication entre les Princes & leurs Ministres, qui ne pourroient être tout d'un coup si pleinement instruits, que de n'avoir pas recours aux nouveaux ordres de leurs maîtres sur les incidents auxquels le cours de traitez sera toujours sujet. Dans le premier formulaire que j'ay envoyé en Angleterre, il étoit porté que couriers des Plenipotentiaries munis d'un bon passeport seroient libres. Mais Monsieur le Secrétaire *Williamson* m'a envoyé les ordres de faire effacer le mot de bon pour ôtre toutes sortes de disputes qui pourroient survenir sur une matiere si essentielle à telles negotiations.

As to the complaints made by Monsieur de Serinchamps, concerning the passports for Lorrain, and the reflexions you have made thereon; I judged it a matter of too great weight for me to intermeddle with in the least wise, without exprefs order from the King my master: and for that reason I have not communicated any part of your letter to the Lords the *States General*, as knowing it would be news too agreeable to those in their alliance, who are not altogether so well disposed to the peace, as they have been represented to be; and who therefore might from hence take occasion to defeat all those hopes which *Christianity* has entertained from the great vigilance and care of the King my master, employed in forming this congress: without which, no discourses, or proposals of peace, could ever come to good effect.

I can't finish this letter without assuring you, that I now retain at the *Hague*, all those sentiments of esteem which I have heretofore had for your person; and the firm resoluti-

Pour les plaints de Monsieur de Serinchamps, sur les passeports pour Lorrain, & les reflexions que vous avez fait là dessus: j'ay estimé cette matiere de trop grande importance pour m'en mêler aucunement sans les ordres de sa Majesté; & pour cette raison je n'ay encore réin communiqué de vôtre lettre à Messieurs les Etats Generaux; sachant bien que ce seroit une nouvelle trop agreeable à ceux de leurs alliez, qui n'ont pas les sentiments si portés à la paix, que ces Messieurs m'ont toujours témoigné, & qui pourroient tacher par là de faire evanouir toutes les apparences que le Roy mon maître en a déjà fait naître à la Chrétienté par ses grands soins, & diligences employées à former le congrez, sans lequel tous les discours & speculations de la paix, ne pourroient sortir à aucun effet.

Je ne puis achever cette lettre sans vous assûrer, que je retrouve encore à la Haye tous les sentiments d'estime que j'ay eu autre fois pour vôtre personne, & les resolutions que j'ay ay pris de ce

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 167

ons that I have taken, to be e- tems là d'être toujours avec
ver with the greatest zeal. beaucoup de passion,

S I R,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant, &c.

Monfieur,

vôtre tres humble, &c

tres obeïssent serviteur.

To Mr. Secretary Williamfon.

S I R,

Hague, January 31. N. S. 1676.

UPON Mr. Skelton's dispatch, and the success of it, he assured me of having given you a very full account, and thereby saved you a trouble from me upon that occasion. There was only one thing he desired of the Deputies, for the ease of his memory, which was, the deduction of those many reasons whereon they excused their compliance with his Majesty's desires; and they promised to put it into my hands by the next post; but have failed of that, as well as of the answer I expected about the extent of neutral country, by reason of the Pensioner's illness, which happens frequently, and ever gives a stop to these affairs, that turn wholly upon his hand. Another thing the Deputies proposed to us at the end of the conference; which was, to know if his Majesty would expect an answer of that letter, which would make it public here; whereas they pretended to be so sensible of not complying with it, as rather to wish, it might be taken no further notice of: and in this I expect his Majesty's pleasure, when you think fit to signify it to me.

I inclose you a copy of my answer to Monsieur Pom-
pone's letter (which went to you by my last) wherein I
endeavour to facilitate the two smaller difficulties a-
bout

bout the *Spanish* passports, by owning the concert of the form here by his Majesty's orders, and the recommendation of it to all the confederates. And whereas he seems to except against couriers passing with only a simple passport from any of the several Ministers, and to think the word *papiers* unnecessary; I thought fit to let him know those changes were made in *England*; in hopes thereupon, that his compliance to them would prove the easier.

For the main point, which is that of *Lorrain*; I could not think fit to enter into any discourse upon it, or so much as to communicate it to the *States* here, without his Majesty's order; because I knew the publishing of it would, on the one hand, engage the honour of *France* so much the deeper in adhering to it; and, on the other, would animate the desires and endeavours of some part of the confederates, to break the congress upon this single point. Upon some discourses with the Emperor's Minister here, after the title given to the Duke of *Lorrain* was taken notice of in the passports from *France*; he made no difficulty to tell me very positively, that his Master would never treat without the *Lorrain* Ministers; and, I remember, his words were, *Et assurez vous, Monsieur, qu'en venant au congrez nous les pousserons toujours devant nous.* Monsieur *Serinchamps* was as peremptory on the other side, that his Master would never send without the style of Duke; but, I believe, would be much more so, if he knew the pretension that *France* now advanceth to that duchy, which he would believe nothing of, when we spoke of it several times upon occasion of the passports. I had then an opinion, that the thing was not done by chance, and asked him, whether they might not ground a pretence upon the treaty of 1662? But he said, with great confidence, they could not. His arguments were; first, the invalidity of that treaty, by the late Duke's having no right to dispose of his duchy

duchy from his nephew; because, if the *Salique* law had course there, it was unalienable from the heir male; if the feminine succession, then that Duke himself had no title, but it belonged to Prince *Charles*, even in the life of his uncle. Secondly, the treaty's being void by the non-performance on the *French* side, of the only condition which appeared of any advantage to *Lorraine*; which was, assuming their Princes into the rank of those of the blood of *France*; which was mentioned in the treaty as that condition, without which it had never been made; and upon its being registered in the Parliament of *Paris* with the leaving out of that clause, the old Duke declared it void (as I remember he said) within a fortnight or three weeks after it was signed. Thirdly the treaty of *Marsal* being concluded the year after, between that King and Duke, by which the Duke was to continue the possession of all his territories besides *Marsal*, in the same manner as he enjoyed them by the treaty of 1661. And, after that treaty of *Marsal* in 1663, it seems, that Duke continued quiet till 1670, when *France* seized upon the whole duchy; but declaring, as Monsieur *Serinchamps* saith, to all Princes of *Christendom*, and, particularly, to his Majesty, that it was only upon personal quarrels to the Duke, and without intention to keep any part of the country. And he saith, in all this time *France* never made the least mention of the treaty of 1662, having found neither the Princes of the blood, nor Parliaments of *France*, would consent to it; and thereupon, no further thoughts were ever had of it, to perform the smallest conditions of it, any more than the greatest. These were Monsieur *Serinchamp's* arguments, which I thought were fit to be sent you upon this occasion, when the matter lieth before his Majesty, and an expedient is not, I fear, like to be found on this side: and without it, the congress, for ought I see, must break;

wherein his Majesty's honour, as well as inclination, you know, is now a good deal engaged.

I yet hear nothing of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, though the wind has been very good, and, having received none from you by last post, am in hopes he may bring me the orders necessary for my proceeding in this difficult matter. I meet with inquiries here every post after his Majesty's resolution in the business of revisions.

I am ever, SIR,

Your, &c.

To Messieurs Colbert and d'Avaux.

Hague, Feb. 1. N. S. 1676.
Messieurs,

I Received yesterday your Excellencies letter from *Nimeguen* of the 19th past, and was willing, as soon as possible, to give you an account of the concern I had in an accident lately fallen out in the business of the passports, which must have given you some trouble, as it has given me much greater uneasiness. The passports of the *States General* have been for some time in my hands, as those of *Spain* have been in *Monfieur de Lyra's* the *Spanish* Envoy; but on this condition, that the former shall not be sent to your Excellencies, nor the latter delivered into my hands, till I become possessed of his most Christian Majesty's reciprocal passports, as well for the *Plenipotentiaries* of this State, as for those of their allies. Some difficulties have been here started about the passports, which, by *Monfieur*

A Messieurs Colbert & d'Avaux.

La Haye, Fevr. 1. N. S. 1676.
Monfieur,

J'*AY* reçu hier de *Nimegue* celle de vos Excellences du 19me, passé, & n'ay pas voulu manquer de vous temoigner, au plutôt le part que je prens à un accident survenu dans l'affaire des passeports, qui vous doit avoir donné beaucoup d'ennuy, mais à moy encore beaucoup plus d'inquietude. Ceux de cet *Etat* ont été quelque tems entre mes mains, & ceux d'*Espagne* entre celles de *Monfieur de Lyra*, Envoyé de cette couronne là; mais à condition que les premiers ne seroient pas envoyée a vos Excellences ni les autres livré entre mes mains, jusques à ce que je seray en possession

eur Ruvoigni's means, have been for some time sent, as well for the Plenipotentiaries of Spain, as for those of Lorraine: the first of these difficulties being only grounded on some deficiencies in the form of the said passports concerning the security of the baggage, and the liberty of dispatching couriers, which were exprest in the passports formerly given by his most Christian Majesty to the Plenipotentiaries of this State at *Cologne*, as well as in those dispatched by the confederates for your Excellencies; I had good hopes to see them easily surmounted by the good offices which his Majesty the King my master has already employed on this subject at the Court of *France*. And I have endeavoured to set these matters in a proper light for Monsieur *Pompone*.

As to the difficulties made about the passports for *Lorraine*, I found them of so great importance, that I dared not to intermeddle therein, without the express order of the King; and therefore I have not communicated

possession des passeports reciproques de sa Majesté tres-Chrétienne, tant pour les Plenipotentiaries de cet Etat, que pour ceux de leurs alliez. On a trouvé des difficultez icy à ceux que Monsieur de Ruvoigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems, tant pour les Plenipotentiaries d'Espagne que pour ceux de *Lorraine*, mais les premiers n'ayant été fondés que sur quelques défauts dans le formulaire desdits passeports, touchant la seureté du baggage, & liberté de depêcher les couriers, compris icy devant en ceux que sa Majesté tres-chrétienne a accordé aux Plenipotentiaries de cet Etat à *Cologne*, aussi bien que ceux que les confederes ont fait depecher pour V. Ex. j'ay bien esperé de les voir facilement surmonter par les offices de sa Majesté le Roy mon maître, qui ont été déjà employés à la Cour de *France* sur ce sujet. Et j'ay tâché de donner à Monsieur *Pompone* les éclaircissements necessaires là dessus.

Pour le difficultez faites sur ceux de *Lorraine*, je les trouve d'une trop grande importance

municated to the *States General* the letter which I received three days since from Monsieur *Pompe* on this subject: I am in hourly expectation of receiving his Majesty's commands, whereby I may regulate my own conduct herein. In mean time, I intreat your Excellencies to assure yourselves, that it is with the greatest regret that I see this stop to an affair in which the inclination, as well as the honour of his Majesty, is so deeply engaged; and to believe, that I will omit no care or pains to promote and facilitate it on this side. To these so important considerations I might add, the particular satisfaction and pleasure that I propose to myself, in being interested and concerned in an affair, that will bring me into the company and conversation of your Excellencies at *Nimeguen*; where I promise myself to find yet farther opportunities of giving you proof, how uneasy these hindrances are to me, and with how much esteem I am,

Your Excellencies most humble,
and most obedient servant, &c.

importance, pour y oser sans les ordres de sa Majesté y mêler mes sentimens; Et pour cela n'ay pas encore communiqué à Messieurs les Etats Generaux la lettre que j'ay reçu depuis trois jours de Monsieur de Pompe sur cette matiere, mais j'attend à toute heure les commandements du Roy pour regler ma conduite. Cependant je supplie V. Ex. de vous assurer que c'est avec regret extreme que je voy cet accrochment à une affaire, en laquelle l'inclination aussi bien que l'honneur de sa Majesté est si fort engagée; Et que je n'epargneray aucune peine Et diligence pour la faciliter de ce côté icy. Je pourrois ajouter à ces considerations si importantes l'interêt particulier que je prens au bonheur Et la joye que je me suis proposé en la rencontre Et conversation de V. Ex. à Nimegue, ou je veux esperer encore de trouver les occasions à vous temoigner combien je ressens ce retardement, Et avec combien d'estime je suis,

Messieurs,

De V. E. le tres humble,
& tres obeïssent serviteur.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, *Hague, February 4. N. S. 1676.*

YOU will have found by my two last, that I had before received from Monsieur *Pomponne* what you have since been pleased to tell me by your's of the 21st, concerning the Most Christian King's answer to his Majesty's representations about the passports. I have discoursed it over this day with the Pensioner, who finds no remedy on this side, but takes the whole matter for an argument, that *France* has no desire at present to see the congress formed, or to enter in earnest upon the negotiation of a peace. He remarks upon the liberty of couriers, that the *Spaniards* can write but once a fortnight to *Madrid*, and that by the common couriers; but that the *French* themselves can have no communication, either with *Paris* or any of their garrisons, without this liberty; and he thinks, they cannot mean any thing should be done at a treaty with these circumstances. He said, it was possible that *France* might insist upon this in favour of *Sweden*, to whom, as you say, *Denmark* has refused the passes; but they are yesterday come, in the form agreed upon, as you will find by the inclosed memorial of that Envoy here. For the point of *Lorraine*, he reasoned much of the strangeness of such a pretension; but I remember nothing new, or more than what I repeated in my last of Monsieur *Serinchamps's* discourses on that subject. As to this last, I can make no conjecture how his Majesty is like to succeed on the side of *France*, and have no prospect of any expedient upon this. But as to the two smaller difficulties, methinks, it should be easy to procure the passports from that Court in the same form with what are given here, if his Majesty owns them to have been concerted, as you know they were, by his order, and by the same recommended to
the

the practice of all the confederates. And, indeed, nothing seems more proper, than for the mediator to concert one general form of passports to be used by all parties. I shewed those you inclosed in your last, to the Pensioner; upon which he remarked likewise, that there was but one single passport for all the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, whereas there were three for the *French*; but concluded, that he hoped still all might be adjusted by his Majesty's second offices towards *France* upon this matter.

I send you inclosed a paper I received from the *States*, concerning the business of Prince *William* of *Furstenburgh*, and another, concerning the neutrality; which coming just now to my hands, I send the original papers, though there seems some defect in a clause of the last, which leaves the prescription of the neutral limits wholly to his Majesty, provided they extend not beyond the *Waal* and *Rhine*. I suppose, by my letters from Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, you will have heard a great deal from him of the necessity of enlarging the bounds, in reference to the convenience of the Ministers: upon which subject I shall say nothing, but only wish, that *France* would leave this matter so far in his Majesty's hands, as to make that compliment concerning the county of *Meurs*, to the Prince of *Orange*, either from that Crown, or from his Majesty; his Highness, I find, thinking it hard, that so small a thing should be refused him, after his Majesty had thought fit to engage himself in the proposal of it on both sides.

Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, told me in one yesterday, of a chicane made him by Monsieur *Beverning* upon the point of first visit, which, I doubt not, he has given you account of. That very hour I had his letter, came to me the President of the Commissioners for the foreign affairs, by order both of the Prince and the *States*, to acquaint me with a letter of Monsieur *Beverning*

verning upon the same subject, and to desire me to direct what I would have done upon it. I found by the letter, that Monsieur *Beverning* intended to make no further or more formal visit to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, upon pretence, that should be done to us both upon my arrival; but I desired Monsieur *Mauregnault*, the person sent to me, that orders might go away by last night's ordinary, to both their Ambassadors, to make their visit together, and in form, to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, as Ambassador-Mediator, which the Prince told me in the afternoon, had been accordingly resolved on.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, February 11. N. S. 1676.

I Received a great deal of honour by the testimony you were pleased to give me in your last of the 25th past, of the approbation given at the foreign committee to my conduct, in giving no communication here of Monsieur *Pompone's* letter, till I had received orders from his Majesty. I thought this so much my duty, that I will confess to you, not to have given notice of it to the *States*, upon what I received from you in your former, though it was in substance the same with your last; but bringing me no orders, and only a bare relation from you, I thought fit upon it only to discourse it to the Pensioner, saying, that he might do the same to the *States*, as a matter he had from me in communication; which he did, lest I should seem to make a secret of what they knew here from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*.

Ronquillo. But upon his Majesty's pleasure, signified to me in your last, I have put in a formal memorial, to acquaint the *States* with it, having taken those words which relate his Majesty's part in it, out of your own letter ; and which signify the Most Christian King's answer, out of Monsieur *Pomponne's* : this I did rather than out of your's, because what was contained in Monsieur *Pomponne's*, was certainly that which they intended should be communicated from them to the *State's*, and for that reason (as the letter mentions) transmitted to me, to save the time of conveying it by *England*. I suppose some little mistake in the construction of my former letter, made you think, I intended not so much as to answer Monsieur *Pomponne's*, without orders from *England* : for you will since have found, that I did it by the very next post ; but that it was, by my good fortune, in the very same form, as well as substance, that your last instructed me ; and that I did not only take your particular notice to him of my not having communicated his letter to the *States* without his Majesty's orders, but again repeated that circumstance in my answer to a letter of the *French* Plenipotentiaries about the same time ; a copy whereof I sent you inclosed, together with that of my memorial yesterday to the *States*. You will lately have found in my Secretary's papers, the mention of a conclusion made in the treaty of commerce between *Sweden* and this State ; and yet not long after an accord here entered into with the *Dane*, of equipping a joint fleet against next campaign in the *Baltic*. I found in my last letters from *England*, the first was thought a little mysterious ; and, since the last has relation to the course of his Majesty's mediation, I think it will become me to give his Majesty some account of the true springs in both.

The first was a business that arose wholly from the *Swedes*, and was negotiated at *Stockholm*, particularly,
by

by Monsieur *Ebernsteyn*. The public intention in it there, was, to make such a treaty serve for some introduction towards another, by which a suspension of arms at sea might follow between that Crown and this State. By this means *Sweden* would, in probability, be able to succour *Pomerania* next campaign; and this State would not, perhaps, have seen it very unwillingly, in case matters on this side, and the dispositions in *France* had drawn on towards the general peace. The private motions of that treaty sprung from Monsieur *Ebernsteyn's* desire to value himself by being instrumental in restoring, at least, the beginnings of some good intelligence between his Master and this State; having himself been always averse from the breach, and now seeing the counsels that promoted it so much decried in *Sweden* from the unhappy events. And this was all the mystery of that treaty.

The *States*, though they approved the treaty of commerce, yet they confirmed not the private articles confirmed by *Sweden*, in order to a suspension of arms by sea; though I did not observe any great aversion towards it; but, on the contrary, a resolution, at least, of not arming this next summer in the *Baltic*, though they had been for three months past very warmly pressed to it by the *Danish* Ministers. But when the first news came of the defaults in the *French* passports, they began to conclude, that *France* was not at all in earnest upon the business of the congress, which they guessed not more from the point about *Lorraine*, than from that of couriers; without the liberty whereof, they esteemed no negotiation could have any effect, and the prejudice would be infinitely greater to *France* and *Sweden* in point of intelligence, than to the confederates themselves.

The *States* thought this counsel of delaying or breaking the congress, proceeded from an expectation in *France* of some great design, wherein they expected the

success, either in *Naples*, or *Sicily*, or in *Poland*. And knowing the endeavours of the *French* Minister at the Port, and the other in *Poland*, to bring about a peace this season between the *Turk* and that Crown, they suspected most the falling down of the *Poles* upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh* in the ducal *Prussia*. The *Danish* and *Erandenburgh* Ministers here, made a good use of this apprehension in the *States*, and prevailed with them to clap up an agreement with *Denmark*, for arming a joint fleet next summer in the *Baltic*, very much against their former resolution, and wholly to the disappointment of all that *Sweden* had proposed to themselves by their treaty of commerce.

This I reckon upon as the first important effect of the defaults found in the *French* passports, and if the *States* continue in the same opinion of the *French* indisposition to the treaty, or of their designs to bring in the *Pole* upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, they will give in vigorously with the confederates, to drive the *Swedes* wholly out of the empire next summer, to which they would otherwise not easily have been induced.

This leads me necessarily to another, which it may be fit likewise for his Majesty to know. The expence of this State in the war, joined to the diminution of their trade, seems to disable them any longer prosecuting it than this campaign; and, indeed, their councils in it hitherto are chiefly animated by the great steddiness and influence of the Prince of *Orange*. The house of *Austria* foreseeing this, have framed a new scheme of taking off from this State all the subsidies they pay to the allies, after this campaign, of *Spain* continuing to pay them their part, and of the allies, especially *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Lunenburgh*, contenting themselves with the other moiety (now paid by the *States*) upon a general treaty to be entered into by all the confederates, for a guarantee of the conquest
made

made last year, or that shall be made this year upon the *Swedes* in *Germany*; which, they think, will be an advantage to the last named confederates, and the Bishop of *Munster*, greater than half of the present subsidies. And for those to *Mentz* and *Trier*, as well as the Emperor, *Spain* will take them wholly upon themselves, as, indeed, the Emperor has not, for this year past, at all pressed the *States* for these payments by treaty made due to him. The *Spanish* and Imperial Ministers are pretty confident of bringing this to pass; and that, upon it, the *States* will be able to continue the war with ease; and if not with the same number of troops, and as principals in it, yet, at least, as accessaries, and with a body of about twenty thousand men in *Flanders*. Several of the *States* tell me, they will not consent to give such a guaranty, foreseeing it must engage them in a long war: and the Prince himself will not, I believe, give into it, till he sees the events of next campaign, or the utmost that *France* will insist upon in the treaty. For my own part, I apprehend it as an affair that may go far towards the continuance of a long war, and, consequently, the ill success of his Majesty's mediation, and therefore thought fit to give his Majesty the early advices of it.

Though the King may have had reason to stop Mr. *Skelton's* journey at present, whose errand to the Emperor would not, perhaps, have had good grace whilst *France* persists in the refusal of the Duke of *Lorraine's* title, and thereby the passport that may bring him to the treaty: yet if his Majesty should have the fortune to surmount these difficulties about the *French* passports, I do not think he will have reason to be discouraged in his intended applications to the Emperor, upon this State's excusing themselves from joining with him in it: for, upon discourses with the Imperial and *Spanish* Ministers here, I find them both absolutely of opinion
(though

(though they profess it to be but personally their own) that the Emperor will certainly give that point of Prince *William* to his Majesty's intercession, whenever it is particularly and formally made to him. And both those Ministers have promised me, to engage all their credit at the Court of *Vienna* towards this success upon Mr. *Skelton*'s arrival there, which I thought was an office his Majesty would approve of, though I was not encharged with it.

I have received his Majesty's ratification of the late article agreed upon here concerning the free trade from enemy's port, which shall be exchanged to-morrow, and shall be sent you by the first yacht.

I ask your pardon for the length of this trouble, and remain,

Your, &c,

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, February 11. N. S. 1676.

I Was extreme glad to find by one from you, which Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* gave me at his arrival here, that you had so good hopes of wearing off that indisposition in which your former had left you; and that you had already begun to use your legs, which, I doubt not, will recover themselves by exercise, with the help of the season, and thereby restore you to the air and entertainments you used to be pleased with, and the liberty of attending his Majesty's affairs, as well as your own.

I suppose, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* never wants discourse so much, as for a help of it to introduce that about the packet-boats; and, perhaps, he does not think fit to begin one where you are more concerned than his Masters, of how small consequence soever it be. Therefore I have not renewed it here, but when-

ever

ever you make the trial, and find any stop from either his want or power or will, to give you the satisfaction intended, I shall not fail to move it again to the Pensioner, and, if need be, to the Prince, upon the least notice you please to give me of it.

We will, if you please, leave off any further mention of what passed in our former letters, upon occasion of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius's* journey hither. I do believe what you tell me, there is no mystery in it: and yet, whenever we meet, I will tell you very frankly what I thought was once in design; which must have been very injurious to me, though, perhaps, not so intended; and will upon it leave you to judge yourself, whether I was imposed upon by those from whom I received the knowledge of it: for, of my many weaknesses, that of my being credulous is none, especially where it is so unpleasant to make me suspect the good intentions of those few whose friendship I esteem, and would be glad to deserve. For the rest that you are pleased to say of the intentions he brings over, as to my own particular, they are of more honour to me, than I at all pretend to; who shall ever live with persons that bear his Majesty's character, as my fellow-servants, whatever difference may be made by those we receive from our Master, according as he pleases to use us in order to his better service. I wish him, with all my heart, the honour of either finding or raising any dispositions here more agreeable to his Majesty's desires in what concerns the peace, than those I have yet been able to give account of. But I think it more for his Majesty's service, to give him a true one that he likes not, than a feigned or disguised one that he likes; which is the way to engage him in measures that will fail, and sometimes in retreats of little honour. Upon this subject, I cannot but wish, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had either understood his Masters better, or been less heard himself upon the business
of

of Prince *William*, before Mr. *Skelton* came over ; and that, for the time to come, some difference were made between his talk and his memorials, since in the latter, I believe, he will be more cautious than in the other.

The Prince is out of town, and will continue so till *Saturday*. The congress is *accroché* by the exceptions made here from the confederates to the *French* passports for *Spain* and *Lorrain* ; which you know the detail of as well as I, and, perhaps, by this time, better, in knowing the answer of the *French* Court to his Majesty's last application. What I write now to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, you will have your part in, either in his hands or the foreign committee ; and beyond these we have nothing here stirs at present, but the common reports of *Monfieur de Ruyter's* victory over the *French* fleet, which I yet see no certain grounds for (though some appearance) from the advices that are yet come hither.

I am

your most faithful

bumble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, *Hague, Feb. 11. N. S. 1676.*

I Was extreme sorry to find by the honour of one from you of the 24th past, that your late indispositions had been so frequent and so troublesome as you describe them. I hope you will find the return of your health with that of the season, which I very heartily wish, for his Majesty's sake as well as your own. In the mean time, I comfort myself with the belief I gather from your letters to my Lord *Berkly*, of which
your

your last inclosed the copies, that your illness has reached no further than your body, and not at all affected or lessened the vigour of your conceptions, which have in those letters pressed the Court of *France* farther than I doubt they will easily yield, or can easily excuse. The success I must expect from *England*, having given Monsieur *Pompe* no encouragement to continue an immediate commerce between us here; which, I suppose, he had a mind to, upon pretence of gaining time, and might have been welcome to a man that considered his Master or his orders, as Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* does his, in his present ambassage.

I have given a full account, in my dispatch to night to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, of the late treaty of commerce between *Sweden* and this State; which, I find, you think somewhat mysterious: and because I esteem that, and other particulars in that dispatch, necessary for his Majesty to know, I presume you will meet it certainly at the foreign committee, and therefore refer you to it.

They are here very full of the belief given them by the last *Italian* letters, of a great victory of Monsieur *de Ruyter* over the *French* fleet, and the extremity of *Messina*, if not relieved. The last I have reason to believe, from some letters I have received, and others of merchants I have seen; as likewise, that there has been an engagement between the two fleets; but for the successes and particulars of it, I do not find any ground of certainty from any advices yet arrived here, or the comparison of them from so many several places, because they seemed all derived from one source; which was a felucca come by chance into *Naples* with the reports of them. In case it should be true, it would be of great consequence, and make some change in the present scene of affairs, and dispositions towards a peace.

The

The Prince is out of town for a week a hunting, and is pleased to hear, you are so keen upon that sport; and says, there are two places in *England* he will be sure to be at, whenever he sees *England*; which are, your house at *Enfield*, and *Sheen*; though the fruits of one, will be too weak a rival with him for the hunting at t'other.

I am ever, with very much passion and truth,

S I R,

Your most obedient

humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, Feb. 18. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge both yours of the 1st and the 4th, which are come to my hands since my last of the 11th. Your first inclosed the *Swedish* passports, put into your hands by Monsieur *Sparr*; your last, the *French* papers, by Monsieur *Ruvigni*, containing the reasons of the Most Christian King's refusing those passports insisted upon here in the passports of *France*. I have communicated both to the Pensioner; who, as to the first, remarked upon them the opinion of the clause for liberty of couriers, and that of the passports themselves expected for the Duke of *Lorrain* among their allies. He concluded, both were done by concert with *France*; and said, he did not believe they could be accepted in this form; but would acquaint the *States* with it, and give me their answer. He observed afterwards the date of them, and finding it old, he told me upon it, that he did not doubt but the Court of *Sweden* had changed their mind upon this matter since that time. That by the letters last week
from

from *Stockholm*, Monsieur *Rompb*, the *States* Minister there, had assured them, that the Court was resolved to expedite the passes in the very same form with that agreed upon by the confederates; and were absolutely of opinion, that the clause for liberty of couriers was necessary, and particularly so to themselves. And the Pensioner seemed to believe, that this matter, and the dispatch of the two Plenipotentiaries from *Sweden*, would soon be made, either by a *Dutch* vessel from *Gottenburgh*, or by a frigate to be sent from hence to that purpose.

As to Monsieur *Ruvigni's* paper, he told me, it was a business of that importance, the congress depending wholly upon it, that he would not advance his own opinion, without first knowing that of his Masters: that an answer had been made to my last memorial upon this subject, which should have been in my hands before this post, but consisting chiefly in the due acknowledgments of his Majesty's offices, and repeated instances to *France* for removing these difficulties; he thought now, that I acquainted him with the success, that it would be fit to enlarge it, but promised to take care that I should be possessed of it by next ordinary.

For my own part, I will confess to you, that I think Monsieur *Ruvigni's* paper a thing as strongly and as well reasoned, as I have seen any; and that I cannot but think they have right in what concerns the point of the couriers, since the prejudice to the confederates from that liberty, cannot be, in any kind, equal with that of *France* using it ill; and the instances of what passed at *Cologne* and *Aix la Chapelle*, are so pertinent, that I do not see how they can be disputed; especially, upon the offer of free passage between *Nimeguen* and *Brussels*. All that sticks, in my opinion, is, the prejudice that *France* and *Sweden* will receive, by the

want of allowed intercourse with their Ministers : but of this they are themselves the best judges.

As to the point of *Lorrain*, I should likewise think the paper had reason too, if they grounded their title to *Lorrain* upon conquest, which is a very common right in the world, and universally allowed, when, at least, confirmed by time. But, in case that treaty of 1662, were attended with all those circumstances which the Pensioner as well as Monsieur *Serinchamps* have deduced to me upon this occasion, I doubt whether it will bear so much weight. But at this I can offer no judgment, without knowing the matter from that side, as well as this; which I should be very glad to do, that I might, if there be occasion, be better able to argue it with them here.

By what I can discover at first by discourses among them upon this subject, I am apt to think, that both the Prince and the *States* would be content to leave this matter wholly to be governed by his Majesty, and make him an arbiter in it, as well as a mediator, in case, *France* would do the same. But I doubt whether they sit so loose from their allies, as to divide from them in it; or whether the several Ministers of the confederates here, will make such a pace upon so important an affair, without new and precise orders from their Masters. However, I should be very glad to know, for my government hereafter, upon this or the like occasions, whether his Majesty would be content to have such offers made him, or rather declined, in their first rise? I know, the use of them might introduce a very great authority to his mediation in the course of the treaty, and in points, perhaps, of greater moment than this. But whether his Majesty would willingly charge himself with absolute decisions, and pass over the respects of displeasing the parties, who might think themselves aggrieved by them, is what I know not. But, perhaps, it is not unnecessary for me

to have, at least, some hint of his Majesty's dispositions in such cases, if they should fall in my way.

I leave the current news to my Secretary, as you please to give me leave; but will add to it what I hear just now, that the match will be made in all appearance, between the Duke of *Lorrain* and the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, *Spain* having given their consent to it; and, I believe, it is not without some eye upon the difficulties that, they say, the present King of *Poland* is like to meet with in his intended coronation.

I am ever,

SIR,

your most humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, February 25. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge the honour of both yours of the 8th and the 11th, since my last of this day se'night. I find both refer me to the further notices you expect out of *France*, concerning the difficulties at present depending in the business of the congress; and I can, as yet, give you as little light from hence. The Pensioner sent me excuses this morning, that the answer intended by the *States* to my last memorial, and to the reasons contained in Monsieur *Ruvigni's* paper, could not yet be ready, by reason of Monsieur *de Lyra's* absence, without whose communication, as Minister to the chief of their allies, they could not agree upon any resolution which concerned the union in general.

I sent him the paper put into your hands by the *Swedish* Ambassador, and desired upon it, that the passports of this State might be delivered to the *Swedish* Minister here. The Pensioner returned me answer, that

that he would move it to the *States* ; but doubted, that it could not be till the form of passports were agreed on both sides, which ought to be the same to all parties. The short of the matter is this : *France* refuses the liberty of couriers, because they will not open their country to their enemies. *Denmark* makes the same difficulties, and for the same reasons. *Sweden*, for the contrary, desires the liberty of couriers between them and the confederates : but these are resolved to allow nothing to *Sweden* in this point, but what *France* shall allow to *Spain* : and they are, for ought I see, upon the whole, very indifferent whether the thing be agreed one way or other, so it may be general to all the parties.

In the case you say had been proposed to you by Sir *Lionel Jenkins* of what may happen to the domestics of the *French* Ambassador, if the treaty should not proceed ; I should have thought myself obliged to protect them (even without receiving his Majesty's orders) to the utmost of my credit here ; and I question not but that would serve such a turn as this, if there were occasion ; and therefore, I think, his Majesty may be at ease on that side.

I am very well content to have little at this time to trouble you with, either from your own letters, or any thing else that passes here ; having been now for four days confined to my chamber by a very painful illness, which has much indisposed me for this kind of exercise.

I am ever,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, February 28. N.S. 1676.

THIS morning I received the honour of yours of the 15th, with an account of his Majesty's first thoughts upon mine of the 18th, by which I shall govern myself for the discouraging any propositions of that kind arising here, either in this matter of *Lorrain*, or others, unless I receive new directions. The common belief here at this present, is, that *France* will not insist so far upon the difficulties raised in the *Lorrain* passports, as to break the congress upon it; especially since *Sweden* is resolved to break from them in it. On this side, they make no haste to give me any answer upon the reasons of *France* represented to them on that subject, pretending still the absence of *Don Emanuel de Lyra*. But yesterday Monsieur *Serinchamps* shewed me a letter from his Master, where he said, he was sure he should not be abandoned by the empire nor *Spain* in this point; and that they would neither be brought to the congress without the allowance of his title, nor to the peace without the restitution of his duchy. There was a great deal in it acknowledging and applauding his Majesty's justice, in the offices performed upon this occasion towards *France*; and a great deal more, taxing very sharply the procedure of *France*, in advancing pretensions upon such a treaty, wherein, he said, were *toutes sortes de nullités*; but that he should be sorry to be put upon more large or public deductions of that matter, for the sake of the dead; and not only the late Duke, but those Ministers of *France* who were the instruments in that treaty. The reasons alledged in this letter were very short, and upon the same heads with those I sent you formerly from Monsieur *Serinchamp's* representation. He would not give me a copy of the letter,

letter, saying, his Master had so ordered it, and only to communicate it to me ; because, he said, he would not be *obligé à des repliques en un tems ou les coups d'épée seroient plus des saison que ceux de plume.*

The truth is, the *Lorrain*, the *Brandenburgh*, and the *Danish* Ministers, would be well pleased to see the campaign end before the congress begins ; and so are glad to increase all the difficulties lately fallen in. But these *States* are very desirous to have the congress formed, and press both the *Spaniards* and Imperialists to send their Plenipotentiaries to *Nimeguen*, whether the *French* come or no, since they are assured that the *Swedes* will. They pretend by it, to throw the blame of the war openly upon *France* ; but the true spring of it is, the hope they have, that some overtures of peace may arise from the accidents of the war in the course of the campaign, ; and that they may be much better improved by his Majesty's mediation, when a congress is on foot, than by any private ways of negotiation. For these reasons, they have resolved yesterday at the committee of seeret affairs, that a frigate shall be sent away to *Gottenburgh*, not only to exchange the passports with *Sweden*, but to bring away their Plenipotentiaries, who will be ready there, as the *Swedish* Commissary here assures them. But this resolution is taken with the condition of their allies consenting, to which they are in hopes of inducing them.

The Prince coming to me this morning, immediately after I received your letter, I told his Highness what you encharged me from his Majesty, concerning his answer to the Elector Palatine, which the Prince was very much pleased with ; and desired me, of himself, to acquaint both the *States* and the allies with it, as a mark of his Majesty's justice in the mediation,

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 191

mediation, which I shall do to-morrow, though I have not yet stirred out of my chamber, and write in pain.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March 3. N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

UPON an occasion given me by my Lord Treasurer, in a clause of a late letter mentioning a dispatch of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* hither; I thought fit by his Lordship's hand, to give your Majesty the fullest account I could of the Prince of *Orange's* dispositions and intentions in this great conjuncture.

I have since found by discourse with Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, that your Majesty thought his Highness might be made more sensible of the usage he has received, and ought to expect from *Spain*, in this confederacy. I did not forget, among other things wherein your Majesty instructed me, to say a great deal to him upon this subject. He still answered me, that he knew more of this than I could tell him: that it had gone so far in what concerned his personal interests with that Crown, as to make him tell the Duke *de Villa Hermosa* last campaign, that he took this manner of treatment from *Spain*, as a great honour to him: for, he was very sure, at a time wherein the least step he should make awry, was of so great moment to that Crown; they would not use him so, if they did not think him a man of too much honour, to prefer his own resentments before the public interests he was engaged in. And

And he added upon it, that they knew him, for he should not do it.

Upon another discourse of the house of *Austria's* depending so much upon his Highness's own dispositions, rather than those of the *States*, in the pursuit of their present alliances; his Highness told me a particular I had never heard before; which was, that one part of his oath as Stadtholder, was, to take the care of keeping the *States* to the observation of their treaties which he was resolved to do to the best of his power.

Last *Friday*, his Highness coming to me upon an illness that kept me in my chamber, told me all that had passed between him and Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* upon the subject of the peace; which all ended in this: that your Majesty desired a good peace, and that his Highness desired nothing more than a good one, but not an ill one; which, on the contrary, he would hinder if he could. That all the question was, what was a good peace? and upon that, had desired of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, as he had before done of me, to know your Majesty's mind, and upon what terms you desired or thought fit the peace should be made: that Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* had answered, you had given him no commission to give that scheme, and would reserve yourself till the treaty. Upon which his Highness had replied, that then, for his part, he would neither help nor hinder the peace: that it would be made when one of the parties were beaten out of the field, but not till then; unless your Majesty would declare to all the parties upon what terms you thought fit, and desired to make it; and, in this case, it would be done in a week.

I tell your Majesty this, that for your better light, you may compare it with the notes you receive upon this matter from Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*; and thereby know, whether the Prince's discourses are different to different

rent persons; which I believe they are not, however they may be represented. And, I am confident, no reasonings can remove him from those intentions I have always given your Majesty an account of; unless the future events of the war, or new revolutions in the confederacy, should inspire him with new thoughts, or involve him in new necessities.

The Prince in his last visit to me, told me, he believed one great part of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius's* errand hither, was come out t'other day. That he had fallen into discourse of the ill posture of the *English* forces here; the necessity of a person of quality being at the head of them; and my Lord *Ossory's* desire to serve him in that charge. That, upon the Prince's agreeing in those points, Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* pulled out a letter, and said, 'twas one he had thought of writing to my Lord *Arlington* upon that subject, if the Prince approved it. That he read it to his Highness, who said, he thought it was well; and that he might send it, if he would. The Prince told me, he observed the paper was so worn in the creases, that he knew it was a thing brought out of *England*; and not written here, as Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* pretended; and believed, it was not only to go to my Lord *Arlington*, but that it, came from him too. That he believed, it was not a thing your Majesty knew of; and observed a clause in it, which he thought was put in on purpose to ingratiate it to your Majesty, though he had taken no notice of it to Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*.

I took this occasion to tell his Highness, that your Majesty had talked with me, when I was last in *England*, of that point, as of a thing you would be glad of, and that might be provided for by private concert between your Majesty and his Highness, upon the conclusion of a treaty you intended of a nearer alliance with this State, immediately after the general peace; which his Highness, I find, thinks will be the proper

time for it ; as I remember your Majesty thought too, when you discoursed it to me. I did not find any reflexions or dispositions in the Prince, different from what your Majesty has reason to desire them upon this occasion ; and doubt not of seeing all other measures easy between you, in case your Majesty can have so much credit with *France*, or so much good fortune, as to help him out of this war with some honour and satisfaction.

Your Majesty will please to use this matter as a piece of confidence from the Prince to me ; though I thought it fit to be told your Majesty, because I remember how averse you were last summer from suffering my Lord *Offory* to come over during the war ; and I thought you might be engaged in what you had no mind to, upon the Prince's seeming to press you with a circumstance of a new strain ; or else be troubled to refuse what he seemed so much to desire. Whereas the thing has risen wholly in *England*, and not here, as will be represented to you ; so that the matter is in your Majesty to do just as you please, without any danger of disobliging the Prince, who is but passive in it. And for that circumstance, which, I suppose, intended to value some body or other, by the shew of extraordinary confidence, and to introduce some more private negotiations ; 'tis a fruit that, I doubt, is not yet in season to be handled, nor will before the general peace is made, which must make way for all nearer measures between your Majesty and the Prince ; and I am the more of this opinion, because, I remember, it was absolutely your Majesty's when I left you.

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for this trouble ; and your acceptance of that true and passionate

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 195

sionate devotion wherewith I am, and shall be
ever,

Your Majesty's most loyal,

and most obedient

subject and servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, March 10. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge yours of the 22d, and in it the significations of his Majesty's further and more resolved pleasure, concerning what might be offered on this side towards his Majesty's arbitrage, upon differences fallen, or like to fall in, between the parties. And by these orders I shall wholly govern myself in that matter as it occurs.

I received likewise in your inclosure, new passports for the *Spanish* Plenipotentiaries, against which I do not think there will lie any exception: so that, if those for *Lorrain* were as forward, the congress would soon begin. But upon that point, I suppose, I may this post send you the *States* answer to Monsieur *Ruvigni's* paper, which was agreed on at Don *Emanuel's* return; and the Pensioner assured me this morning, it should be put into my hands before the closing of this packet.

Yesterday the Prince came to me, and told me, he came from a conference they had with their allies, upon a letter from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, with the expedient his Majesty had discoursed of, both to him and Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*. His Highness told me, that for himself and the *States* they would willingly fall in with whatever his Majesty should propose; but, to tell me plainly, there was not one Minister of any
of

of their allies, that liked it in any kind. The *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* said, modestly, at the conference, that it was a thing wholly new; and therefore excused themselves from saying any thing to it, without orders from their Masters. The *Danish* and *Brandenburgh* said the same; but added, they were sure their Masters would not consent to it. That nothing could touch their sovereignties nearer, than that another Prince should give liberty to their enemies to pass through their countries. But, besides these arguments, the Prince told me, that they all concluded, that by it *France* would certainly gain their point, after having publicly laid a claim to *Lorrain*, and thereupon refused to give the style of Duke. I only tell you these as the Prince's discourses; for not having received any orders to propose the matter here, I have neither done it, nor can charge myself with giving any answer to it from the *States*: but the Pensioner told me this morning, that would be done to-night, by letters to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*. At the same time he desired me from the *States*, to know from Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, the *Swedish* Commissary here, (who has much pressed both them and me for the dispatch of their passports) whether he desired the exchange of them separately, and before that of the *French* passports were concluded, or no? for if he did, both the *States* and their allies were very likely to consent to it. I desired to be excused from performing this office: for, his Majesty having undertaken the mediation of a general peace; I took myself to be encharged with all offices that any way tended towards it; but with none that were aimed at any separate measures between the parties; and therefore would not meddle, without his Majesty's orders, in any separate concert, or exchange of passports between them and *Sweden*.

The Pensioner seemed a little surpris'd, but said, he would speak with Monsieur *Sylvercroone* himself about

bout it; since I did not think it, as the *States* had done, to be properly the part of a mediator. The thing was sudden; and this occurred to me, at the present, as most agreeable to what I conceived of his Majesty's scope and general sense, in the draught of those instructions brought over by Sir *Lionel Jenkins*. However, I should be glad to know, whether it be what his Majesty approves of, that I may have the more light for my future government.

I communicated to the Pensioner the Commissioners paper concerning revisions, and his Majesty's orders to me upon it. The Pensioner told me, he was this night going out of town, towards the *Skinckscence*; but would communicate it to the *States* immediately upon his return. In the mean time he would freely tell me his thoughts upon it; which were, that since a treaty had been concluded with those words, and ratified by the *States*, upon assurance given them by their Ambassador, and from you (as he pretended) that the intention was not to have the old way of revision altered, and brought before the *States*: and, tho' it was a thing contrary to the constitutions of their government; yet since his Majesty pressed them to it, he thought that it ought to be done, rather than break the words of a treaty concluded. That he was likewise of opinion, it should be made of as little expence as any other matters of that kind are subject to here. But to make it without any expence, as was proposed, or salary, either to the revisors, or persons summoned from the respective admiralties, was a thing wholly contrary to the orders of their State; and they could not be pressed to change them, when no treaty obliged them to it.

I went to wait upon the Prince this morning, upon his journey to *Gelderland*, being the first time I have done it since my illness. His Highness's journey, as well as the Pensioner's, is chiefly intended for viewing the

the *Skincksconce* (the delivery of it to the *States* being absolutely agreed with the Duke of *Brandenburg*); and for resolving whether it will be necessary to continue this fort, or to build another, and thereby endeavour to change the course of the *Rhine*, which is grown of late to throw so much of its water into the *Waal*, as to spoil the channel both of the old *Rhine*, and the *Xffel*; which they think is necessary to be remedied. Another reason of the Prince's journey was, an interview agreed with the Marquis *de Grana* at *Cleve*; but he has been now here three days with the Prince, is gone this afternoon to *Brussels*, and, having spoke with the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*, will return hither to meet the Prince, when he comes back from his journey on *Saturday* or *Sunday* next. His business is, to concert the manner of carrying on this campaign on all hands. He has made me two visits since his being in town, discoursed much of his Master's desires of peace; and would have a declaration of the contrary in *France*, from the difficulties raised by this new pretence to *Lorraine*; and speaks very broad of their conduct in this matter, as, indeed, all the rest of the confederates are apt to do upon all occasions. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, March 17. N. S. 1676.

SINCE my last of the 10th I have had nothing to trouble you with from hence; the Prince and the Pensioner having been both out of town till last night. I am sorry mine was not come to your hands before the dispatch of yours of the 29th past, by which I received orders to propose to the *States*, in his Majesty's

Majesty's name, the expedient that came to them last week, from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*; who has, I presume, before this time given you an account of its reception here; at least, what I writ you from the Prince's own discourses will have given you light into that matter. I went to his Highness this morning, immediately upon receipt of yours, and acquainted him with the orders it brought me. He told me, that I knew best what I had to do; but if he might advise me, I should defer making the proposition to the *States*, till the next packet from *England*; before which his Majesty would find, by the Pensioner's answer to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, what reception that was like to meet with: and for his Highness's part, he should be sorry to see his Majesty's name engaged, formally, in a matter that would be refused. I argued this point as far as I was able, as to the fairness and indifferency on all sides, and prejudice it would bring to none. The Prince grounded all the difficulties upon the allies, who, he said, were unanimous in declining it, and some with sharpness, though others with coldness, but such as looked enough like refusal. For he had never before, at any of their conferences, observed Monsieur *de Lyra* to avoid concluding one way or other; or to refer himself to new orders from *Madrid*, as he did in this. The Prince added, that he would not judge what reason those Ministers might have, that pretended it would too far touch their Princes sovereignty; but, he confessed, he thought they had reason in saying, it would be a yielding the point to *France*, at least, indirectly; and that it might have been done easier at first, and with less prejudice to the Duke of *Lorrain*, before *France* had pretended a right to that duchy. His Highness had heard, by this days letters from *France*, that the Most Christian King had already consented to this expedient, and to the liberty of couriers, provided they kept their strait roads. I confessed

fessed I had heard the same this morning, by Monsieur *Sylvercroone*'s letters from the *Swedish* Minister at *Paris*; but that I had understood the meaning of that Court's expedient was, that the other passes should be granted reciprocally by the parties, but his Majesty should give those of *Lorrain* alone, with the *French* approbation and enforcement of them. His Highness replied, that could less be done than the other; for they were bound by treaty to procure all their allies passports in the same form with their own. That, he believed, the *States* would not part from their treaties; but if they should be inclined to it, he was bound by oath, as Stadtholder, to keep them to them: and so he was sure he would do, as far as he was able. I told his Highness, that upon the terms this matter stood, for ought I saw, the congress must break; and it was only their parts to consider and resolve, whether that imported them more or less than these punctilios, which would not gain, or lose, an inch of ground, upon the treaty. The Prince replied, it was no punctilio, but a point of right, on the one side or the other; and that his Majesty ought to judge, whether they had right in demanding the Duke of *Lorrain*'s title, or *France* in refusing it. That he could not tell, whether the congress would break, or no; which depended upon *France*: but there were many here (and he was one of them) that believed, they would have yielded this point of *Lorrain*, in *France*, if Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* would have been content not to trouble his head about finding out expedients, in a matter that was so plain: and that by advices out of *France*, he had reason to be of this opinion.

This was the sum of our discourses this morning; upon all which I have resolved to defer the making of this proposition to the *States*, in his Majesty's name, till my next letters, and his Majesty's resolution, after he is acquainted with the dispositions it will meet with here.

here. But when his Majesty has these lights, he will best judge how far to engage in it; and upon signification of his pleasure, shall immediately be obeyed.

In the course of this matter it must be observed, that several of the confederates, especially *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, are glad of any delays to the congress, till this campaign ends; and so improve all incidents towards that end, though without openly owning that disposition. The unhappiness is, that *France* has given them an occasion, which the *States* join with them in esteeming unreasonable, and so, I doubt, will not break from them in it; which they would certainly have done, in those of another nature: as they lately did when *Denmark* made a difficulty of granting the *Swedish* passports: whereupon the *States* ordered their Minister at *Copenhagen*, to let that Court know, that, if they sent not the passports hither, within six weeks, they would send those of this State without them; upon which, those of *Denmark* were immediately dispatched to their Minister here. And nothing has contributed more to the *States* resolution of sending a ship to *Gottenburgh*; for the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries, than the difficulties made by the *Danish* Minister here, about their passing by land. In short, this State grows jealous upon the discovery of any design, in any of their allies, to continue the war upon advantages of their own, wherein this State has little concernment. And such they esteem all the pretensions on foot, except that of *Spain*, in securing and enlarging the frontier of *Flanders*. Nor has *France* any way to break their constancy in pursuing the war, but by giving the *tort* to the confederates, of delaying the peace (at least till the fortune of arms make a decision between the parties). On t'other side, the allies find no better ways to animate the *States*, than by giving the *tort* to *France* of declining the treaty;

which they have made good use of, upon this difficulty about *Lorrain*. And, for my part, I am at an end of my prospect in this matter; and all my present hopes of either peace or congress, will reach no further than, *fata viam invenient*.

I am

SIR,

your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, March 20. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge the honour of one from you of the 3d, with several reasons for supporting the expedient lately transmitted from *England*, upon the difficulties in the *Lorrain* passports. I have made use of them in my discourses here, to prepare the way for my proposing it; if his Majesty continues in that mind, after having received the answer given Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, which was made by a formal resolution, at a conference between the *States* and their allies; and containing, first, the profession of the several Ministers, that they could conclude nothing in it, without new orders from their Masters: and then their own opinion, that it could not be accepted by them: ending in this, that Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* should be written to, for these reasons to decline the project, in the best and most decent manner he could. The reasons I urge upon them are answered with great modesty, by those of the government here; saying, that if the quarrel, and consequently, his Majesty's mediation, lay only between *France* and them, this or any else that his Majesty proposed, would be easily accepted; but, *qui a compag-*

non

non a maître ; and so laying the difficulty wholly upon their allies, who, it seems, are very unanimous in it. Upon what I find here, of this nature, to discourage me from hazarding his Majesty's name further, without new orders ; and upon that paragraph of your letter which tells me, that all you had said upon that subject was but your own reasonings ; and that you had not yet had the occasion of knowing his Majesty's mind upon it, which you expected to do on *Sunday*, at the foreign committee ; I have yet deferred my proposal of it, formally, to the *States*, in expectation of the *Sunday's* letters, which are due to-day, whereas your last came but yesterday to me.

Yesterday Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, the *Swedish* Commissary, came to me ; and gave me the knowledge of what had passed between him and the Pensioner concerning the *Swedish* passports ; after I had excused myself wholly from meddling in it. The *States* sent one of their Deputies to the Commissary to know, whether he would give them, in writing, an assurance, that, upon their sending a ship and their passports to *Gottenburgh*, the *Swedish* Ambassadors would come away to *Nimeguen*. And this assurance the Commissary has given them in writing ; and thereupon the Pensioner made him confidently hope the thing would be done ; and told him, they would have a conference with their allies upon it, yesterday in the afternoon ; but, however, he desired me *d'y donner la main* ; and would needs have me understand that there was nothing either in the *States* question, or his answer, that made any mention of *France*, or of any thing in it separate from them. But that he looked upon the difficulties about *Lorrain* passports, as like to be easily surmounted, and then the *French* Plenipotentiaries would be at the congress in three days ; whereas theirs had so long a journey, that he thought it was fit to lose no time. I again excused myself, absolutely,
from

from making any pace in this matter, after the *States* had given me reason, by the Pensioner's discourses, to believe they understood it, as a measure separate from *France*. He said a great deal to justify his own conduct: which I heard coldly, till he would needs know my opinion of it; upon which I told him, I could neither commend nor disapprove it, without seeing his orders, which, I supposed, he would not shew me; and till he did, I desired him to be content without any opinion of mine, in this case. We passed afterwards into more general discourses of the war, and the peace; by which I found his great apprehensions of the ill posture the *Swedish* affairs may fall into this summer, by the divisions of their counsels in *Sweden*, as well as the strength of their enemies abroad; and that, if *France* could not help them by fleets or armies, their money could not make them a match for so many confederates, as they had to deal with. That they had more reason to press the congress than *France*; one being so much upon the losing, and t'other upon the gaining hand. That when they came to it, they would do nothing without *France*, in case they should be there before them; but, he believed, they should use their best offices towards inducing *France* to a treaty which was of so great importance to *Sweden*; and he thought the *French* might do something for an ally that had suffered so much for them.

This I take to be the secret of this interview, which the Ministers here are fallen into with Monsieur *Silvercroone*, being grounded upon a likeness of interests and dispositions towards advancing it, whenever the treaty begins. I hear besides, from some of the Ministers here, that there is a private article in the last treaty between *France* and *Sweden*; by which *France* has obliged themselves to see the *Swedes* restored to all they might lose by this war, in case of ill successes in it: and this, they think here, will make *Sweden* press
France

France the harder upon a peace, the more they grow out of hopes to recover by arms what they have already lost. Which makes this State very desirous to bring the *Swedes* to the place of congress; and the rather, because they esteem the two Ambassadors designed from *Sweden*, to be of the party that was no friend to the war.

In the mean time, the *Danish* Minister here has made a great deal of noise upon the Pensioner's entering into conference with Monsieur *Silvercroone*, and upon the *States* receiving a paper from him; which they refused to do from Monsieur *Ebernsteyn*, for several months before he went away, after the war was opened. The conference that was to be held yesterday upon this matter, with all the allies, was put off till this afternoon, for want of the *Brandenburgh* Minister, who was to be in town this morning. I am not sure I shall know, before the closure of this packet, what the result will be; but, by what I can make of the dispositions on all sides, I am apt to believe the thing will be agreed; the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Ministers falling in with the intentions of the *States*; and the *Danes* apprehending to give them too much jealousy of their designs, to break, or at least, defer the congress, till this campaign ends. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, *Hague, March 24. N. S. 1676.*

SINCE my last of the 20th, I have none from you, though a packet be come in; and I expected from your last on the 3d, to know his Majesty's mind in your next, concerning my formal proposing
the

the late expedient, after the knowledge given you of the first reception it met with here. I have been since endeavouring, all I could, to make better way for it, in case his Majesty continue his pleasure of having it done, notwithstanding the former discouragement. I have since talked with several that are in the councils here, as well as with the Pensioner, upon that subject, but can gain no ground with any of them. After all my reasonings with the Pensioner, and telling him the orders I had to make the formal proposition, and desiring him to give a hand to it, as the only way left to keep up any appearance of the congress; he told me, that he could not undertake to say what would be the *States* mind; but he had very good presumptions from knowing what it had been: for though mine would be, perhaps, a more formal way of proposing it, yet Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* was, as he has writ them, from the King's own mouth, and thereupon was considered and debated by the *States*, and with their allies, in the same manner that mine would be; and therefore, he was confident, it could have no other reception. For the *States*, he said, they would be very glad to receive it, or any other advance towards the treaty; but that no one Minister of their allies, but had expressed a dislike to it: and the Emperor's Resident had said, that besides his Master, he would engage his head, it would be refused by the Princes of the empire. The Pensioner added, that besides the delays of new orders, to which they all had recourse, the thing would be represented at the several Courts by the Ministers here, who were all prejudiced against it; and I might judge what was to be expected from the impressions they were like to give. That it was impossible for the *States* to break from their allies in this matter, having delayed so long the treaty at *Cologn*, upon the point of *Lorraine*, when they were in so much worse condition than now.

That

That they had reason to hope his Majesty would prevail with *France*, in a point wherein he had always assured Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* there should be no difficulty. He offered to send me several of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* letters with that assurance; but I told him, I believed easily his Majesty did not foresee it, and was surprised with it when it came first from *France*, and sorry to meet with it. But the case was now to find out an expedient, since *France* was unmoveable upon the offices his Majesty had already performed in that Court; and that their parts were to consider, whether the congress imported them so far as to pass over such forms as were of no consequence at all to the substance of the treaty; or whether they were content the congress should absolutely break upon them. He answered me, that, if it broke on the *French* side, and upon a point so unjust, they must have patience: that he saw very well *France* would force this State upon the resolutions of continuing the war, which was both against their mind, and against their interest; but if it must be so, and *Spain* would find a way to relieve them of the subsidies they paid abroad; *Nous ferons bien voir à la France, que nous ne sommes pas encore hors d'balance.* I tell you his words because they are of a strain that I had never heard from the Pensioner since my coming over; all his discourses having used to carry a bent to the peace, and an opinion of its necessity. But upon this occasion, and some heat it gave him, he told me, they had ordered Monsieur *Hemskerke* to make the proposition at *Madrid*; and he doubted not but it would be accepted, if ever the gallions arrived, or they could be persuaded in *Spain* to cut off all pensions for three years.

I gave you a hint sometime since of this being upon the anvil among the confederates, but did not imagine it would work up very fast; because I fore-
saw

saw it must draw on a guaranty of the last conquests upon *Sweden*: but that will not need, if *Spain* should be able to pay the whole present subsidies; and I perceive this State hath now a prospect of other measures with *Sweden*, than they thought of at that time.

I have reasoned upon this expedient likewise with the Marquis *de Grana*, upon his return from *Brussels*. He adds one thing more to what I hear against it from the rest; which is, by asking how his Master the Emperor can leave such a discontent at heart of a Prince, to whom he hath already intrusted a great part of his forces, and is resolved to commit the charge of his whole army this year, in case any difficulties should happen in Count *Montecuculi's* coming to command it. I believe his journey hitherto hath had effect upon the hopes of the confederates, by the assurance he hath given them, that his Master's army shall be in the field, and encamped before the 20th of *April*, and stronger than in any of the last campaigns. What I believed of the conference among the confederates held at the time of my writing last, proved true: they agreed upon sending their passports and a ship of this State for the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries; though the *Danish* Ministers were brought to it *à reculons*. But I find here, that Monsieur *Romp*, Envoy of this State at *Stockholm*, hath not only assured them, that they will send their Plenipotentiaries away to *Nimeguen* upon the arrival of the ship; but they will come instructed to do all they can to procure a sudden general peace; and if that cannot be composed, to make a particular peace for that Crown. And he writes them word, that a resolution of the Senate is already passed to this purpose. Though this whole matter passeth between the *States* and Monsieur *Silvercroone*, without any mention of *France*; and he gives it to me a very good turn, of only hastening the delays necessary to so long a journey; and pretending to be-

lieve

lieve these difficulties raised by *France*, upon the matter of passports, may possibly have been occasioned, because they would not come to the congress before the *Swedes* could be there: yet, I see plainly, the *States* reckon upon the *Swedes* coming to *Nimeguen*, though the difficulties with *France* should continue; and, consequently, that there will be a congress this summer, whether the *French* Plenipotentiaries come to it or no. And this I thought fit his Majesty should have early advice of, that he might order his measures accordingly, in case it should happen, and consider how far the progress of such a matter should be attended and observed by his Ministers; and whether with any endeavours, either public or private, either of assisting or opposing it.

The Emperor's Minister here hath in the late conferences among the confederates, made great complaints of Mr. *Skelton* having received at *Norimberg* the orders sent him to make a halt in his journey, had, notwithstanding, gone afterwards from thence to *Ratisbone*, and resolved to make his stay there; and had fallen into many secret conferences with a *French* Gentleman, who is a Minister of the Duke of *Bavaria* there. That by it he had raised great reflexions among the Ministers of the Emperor and the confederate Princes, especially upon observation that many of these meetings had been in the night, or else at places out of town, that seemed chosen expressly for the secrecy of them. The *States* answered at the conference, that they did not think these circumstances of weight to be taken notice of to his Majesty, as Monsieur *Campricht* desired. However, both the Prince and Pensioner told me of it, though without pretending to make any complaints: and I told them my own belief, that there could be nothing of this kind by any commission of his Majesty's; and that what was, might be on-

ly personal acquaintance and conversation between themselves.

Mr. *Meredith* told you last week of eight ships of war gone out of the *Texel*, without any noise of their preparation or dispatch. I hear certainly, they are twelve or fourteen, and commanded by one *Bringift* (as I remember his name is) who is Vice-Admiral of *Friezland*, and a very bold man. I am assured of a thousand land-men aboard; but the whole hath been carried on by the expence of the admiralty, without any supply from the State; and with such secrecy, that I cannot possibly learn upon what design.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March 27. N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

I Received by the last letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamson* the knowledge of a justification made him by a *Danish* Envoy at *London*, of the *Danish* Envoy's carriage and expressions here, upon the proposal of your Majesty's late expedient transmitted by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*. Besides what I have written upon this subject to Mr. Secretary, I could not but take notice of a proceeding so disingenuous, as to let your Majesty know, that the Prince, telling me how that proposal was received by the allies, added, that one of them said, among other warm things, *Qu'on ne pretendoit pas se mettre sous la tutele du Roy d'Angleterre*. His Highness said, he would not tell me who it was: and I replied, he needed not; for I knew the

the style too well, not to be sure it was Monsieur *Meyercroon's*: the Prince confessed it was so, but desired me not to speak of it: I do it now only to your Majesty; and that your Majesty may see how far you may rely upon the discourses of such foreign Ministers, who say only what they think will please, instead of what they know is true. If your Majesty desireth to make any farther use of this than your own information, I will ask the Prince leave to tell it; if not, I hope your Majesty will manage his Highness's credit with his allies, and mine with him; and that you will please to pardon this interruption from,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most loyal

and most obedient

subject and servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamfon.

S I R,

Hague, March 27. N. S. 1676.

BY yours of the 29th past, I received orders to propose his Majesty's late expedient formally to this State; but upon the Prince of *Orange's* advice, I gave you notice of my deferring it till his Majesty's pleasure were known, after the account I had given of its reception here upon Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* transmitting it from his Majesty's own mouth, and a formal conference between the *States* and all their allies upon it. By yours of *March* the 3d, I received the notice of that account being come to your hand, but was referred to the next for knowledge of his Majesty's mind upon it, after the producing it the *Sunday* following at the foreign committee. The *Tuesday's* post after that,

that, brought me nothing at all from you ; but the next *Friday's* post being now come in, brought me yours of the 10th current ; which says not a word more to me upon this whole matter, but that his Majesty expected the *States* and their allies answer upon the point. I thought it my duty, immediately upon receipt of this letter, and consideration of the former circumstances, to put in the inclosed memorial with the formal proposition of it to the *States* ; though I had, in two late ones of mine, given you account, both from the Prince's and Pensioner's, and several others discourses, what success I had reason to expect, and, consequently, why I delayed it till farther orders. I know very well, that the Count *d'Esstrades*, in his embassy here, received twice positive orders, from the King his Master, to propose things in his name to the *States*, which had been grounded upon Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* discourses in that Court ; but the Count finding that they would be refused here, suppressed his orders, and sent his Master word, that he had done so, because he would not expose his Majesty's name and honour in a thing wherein he was sure to be refused. I know very well, his conduct was both approved, and he received thanks for it from the most Christian King. I confess, mine should have been the same upon this occasion, if I had not known my want of credit to support me ; and that, in such cases, 'tis fit for such a man only to obey, which must be my part ; and therefore it will be yours to expect it from me, and to consider how I am instructed. I could not yet receive any answer to my memorial, because they would be sure to do nothing in it, without a conference with their allies ; but shall press them to it with diligence, and with wishes, that I may find myself deceived in the measures I have taken here, or given from hence in this matter ; though I do not remember to have yet failed in those I have hitherto given you, in any one point,

point, and should be glad to be put in mind of it, if I do.

For those given his Majesty by the foreign Ministers about him, I think you have had some experience of late how they are to be relied upon: and, though they may be excused, as proceeding from so good and so important a design, as I suppose they have, of making their court well to his Majesty, by such advances or compliances as have been lately among them; yet, I doubt whether you have reason to ground upon them so far in matters where his Majesty's service may be concerned.

I told the Prince, that Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* had approved of his Majesty's expedient there; upon which his Highness replied, that it might be so; but he was sure he had written to Don *Emanuel de Lyra* in a very different style. You now tell me, that the *Danish* Envoy there, came on purpose to you, to justify their Minister here, upon his having been represented from hence to have opposed and argued against his Majesty's expedient; whereas he never had expressed any dislike or prejudice to that matter. I desire you will please to tell your *Danish* Envoy from me (at least if you think fit) that I will leave that matter to be disputed by Monsieur *Meyercroon* with the Prince of *Orange* and the Pensioner *Fagel*; who both told me very much the contrary, and I own to have written so from their mouths. And since he brings me into the lists upon this occasion, I do not only name my principals; but I question not to find so much credit with some of the Ministers of the allies here, as to know some remarkable words of Monsieur *Meyercroon's* upon this occasion at the conference, which will be very fit for his Majesty to know, whether he pleases to discourse them or no.

I will add but one word more upon this subject; which is, that what measures I give you of this kind,

I have from the Prince's and Pensioner's discourfes ; in which I have not yet found myself deceived, nor ever known their opinions contested by the *States* here once since my coming over, in any matter that concerned peace or war, or any foreign alliances.

On the other side, if you doubt of my giving you other lights at any time than they give me, I am content you should send any letter of mine over to them by another hand, and know whether I have either deceived, or been deceived in my reports from their discourfes with me.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

SIR,

Hague, March 31. N. S. 1676.

IN my last letter of the 27th, I gave you an account of my having proposed his Majesty's expedient formally to the *States*. But having done it after many discouragements, in my several discourfes with the Prince, Pensioner, and other Ministers of this State, as well as their allies, and without any direct orders from his Majesty, after he had received the knowledge of those discouragements ; I was in some pain to judge whether I had done well or no, till I was eased of it by yours of the 14th ; which brought me his Majesty's positive command to that purpose. I have yet no answer to my memorial, nor can expect it before this post goes away ; this afternoon being appointed for the conference between the *States* and their allies upon it. Yesterday was the conference of the Commissioners with the Prince ; who told me, the

States

States continued of the same mind they were ; which was, that they could not break from their allies in this point, notwithstanding their desires to comply with any thing that should be proposed by his Majesty. He added, that the Ministers of the confederates here, would, he believed, make no other answer, but that having no power to conclude upon such a point, they would report it to their respective principals, and expect their orders.

I told the Pensioner, since my last, the justification that had been made you there, by Monsieur Gioel, of the *Danish* and *Brandenburgh* Ministers carriage here upon this matter, and what I had written to you upon it, of my leaving Monsieur *Meyercroon* to dispute that matter with the Prince and him. The Pensioner replied, that he knew very well he should not be troubled with any such dispute ; for neither Monsieur *Meyercroon* nor *Blaspyle* would say that to him, which they were said to have written into *England*. That the warmth of Monsieur *Meyercroon* had been greater than any other Minister's here ; and Monsieur *Blaspyle* had that very morning told him again, that the more he had thought of that expedient, the more he found it impracticable ; because not only the form of the passports must be left to his Majesty, but in case of any difficulty, or breach of them, which should occasion disputes among the parties, the interpretation of them must be left to his Majesty too : nor could it easily be found out how the violator of any such passport should be punished, which was proper for every Prince to do in case of his own subjects, as 'twas a right that could not be given up to another.

That you may have one instance more, how ingenuously you are dealt with by the foreign Ministers with you in this matter : the Prince told me, that Monsieur *Van Beuningben* writ in his last letter, that he was encouraged to press this matter still by the hopes

I gave his Majesty, that it would be accepted here. Whereas, you know what the style of my letters has been upon this subject, from my very first discourses with the Prince: nor could they have been true if they had been otherwise. Nor shall I ever give his Majesty any representations that I do not think to be right and true, till he shall please to tell me, that he had rather be deceived with false lights, than be displeased with true ones.

Upon what you tell me, of a resolution of the *States*, that came by chance to your hands, bearing date the 20th of *March*, which was the day the Prince first spoke to me of this matter; and that it would have been well that you had received a copy of it earlier from my hands: I will confess, I knew such a resolution was taken, but not at all the words or particulars of it; and that about four or five days after I saw a copy of it, and in my next letter sent you an account of what was in it. But it is not a thing you must expect of me, to be able to give you copies or accounts of such resolutions; though you call them resolutions of the *States General*: whereas, though they pass for such, and have the authority of them; yet, they are so far from being so, that many times the *States General* know nothing of them in three months after they are taken. And though you are pleased to say, that copy came to your hands by chance, yet, I am sure, it must have come by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, or some others of the *States* Ministers in other Courts; or else by the Ministers of some of their allies. And upon this occasion, it will be fit to inform you, of a constitution in this State, which, I suppose, you are not acquainted with; but which is become the chief resort of the government here.

In the war between his Majesty and this State, begun the year 1665, Monsieur *de Witt* proposed and procured a commission to be granted by the *States General*

neral to eight Commissioners, of which, two *Holland*, and one of each other province: who were called, the Commissioners of secret affairs. These were then chosen of such men who were perfectly in confidence with him. Power was given them by their commission, to deliberate, to act, to execute, in all matters that were referred to them by the *States*, with the same authority that the *States* themselves could do; and yet the liberty of doing it with such secrecy, that they were not bound to give any account of what they resolved to the *States*; but at such times as they themselves thought fit. The matters referred to their management, were, all that concerned the war, any foreign alliances, the proposals and even conclusions of treaties, in case they were esteemed necessary to be kept secret for a time upon particular reasons of State. All resolutions taken by these Commissioners, were signed by the Deputy as President, who was of the same province with the President of the *States General*, who was the only officer that attended these Commissioners in their secret deliberations. These resolutions so signed, were sent to their Generals, Admirals, Ambassadors, and other public Ministers abroad, for their instructions, by which they acted; and were observed and obeyed as the resolutions of the *States General*, who had, indeed, only the name and form, whilst these Commissioners had the whole management of peace and war: and the disposal of offices and levies of monies remained (as you know) in the provincial assemblies. It was with these men I concluded that treaty in 1668, in five days time, which made so great a change in the measures of *Christendom*: and Monsieur *de Witt* there told me, that by this institution, the government had avoided those two reproaches usually laid upon commonwealths, of wanting secrecy in their councils, and suddenness in their executions.

Upon the last change of the government here, and the restoring of the Prince of *Orange* to the post of his ancestors, this institution of Monsieur *de Witt* was thought fit to be continued, but with this only change, they were first to consult with his Highness before they passed any resolutions ; which, in short, has devolved the whole power and management of affairs upon the Prince, in conjunction with these Commissioners ; of whom the Pensioner is one, and hath the influence among the rest, that Monsieur *de Witt* had before. This, as you may imagine, is stomached by many in the province and the towns ; but, however, it goes down, and being grown into a peace with the authority of the Prince, does not seem likely to change, but with the diminution thereof.

Yet the Pensioner, in any difficult cases, sometimes summoneth the Ministers of the twelve chief towns in the province of *Holland* to consult with ; and upon the next assembly of the *States of Holland*, usually gives them an account of all matters that have been acted by the Commissioners since the preceding assembly, unless they judge the reason or necessity of secrecy to continue still. The Pensioner told me, he had last week given them an account of all that had passed in the difficulties of the passports, and especially that of *Lorrain* ; the resolution of their allies to stick to that point of having that Duke's style allowed him ; and the opinion of the Commissioners, that this State was bound by their treaties to adhere to them in that pretence. That the *States of Holland* had unanimously approved of their conduct in this whole matter.

Now the resolution you mention of the *States General*, was a resolution of these Commissioners (who are called sometimes, of the secret, and sometimes, of the foreign affairs, which is, indeed, their proper business since the change of the government, the management of the war being left wholly to the Prince ;) nor do I believe,

believe, the *States General* have yet any knowledge of that resolution; nor is it to be had otherwise than from the Prince, or one of these eight Commissioners, who are sworn to secrecy, or some of the Ambassadors or foreign Ministers of this State, to whom such resolutions are usually sent; to some for instruction, and for information to others who are in credit with the government. This, I thought, might be very material for his Majesty and Ministers to know, as the main resort of the present government, and by which you may judge where the power lies, how it moveth, and what is often meant by resolutions of the *States General*, which is grown a term common to them, and to these Commissioners.

I have delivered his Majesty's letters for the Emperor and Duke of *Brandenburg*, to their respective Ministers here, so as you may reckon upon them as gone away by this day's ordinary. The Marquis *de Grana* is still here, detained, for these two or three last days, upon the endeavours of composing the pretensions of the several confederates to the past and future conquests in the duchy of *Bremen*; their dissensions having given some delay to the beginning of that siege.

The *States of Holland* resolved this last assembly upon the building of six ships, four whereof to be of eighty guns a-piece. I told the Prince, I believed they did it for a good countenance, and to make the world believe they were richer than they found themselves: his Highness smiled, and said, it might be so; but, upon *France* having so many ships, and of the greatest rate, he thought they might have reason here to look a little more about them. But, for himself, he had no part in this resolution, and would have been glad the money might have been employed this year upon the land-forces. That it was done by the *States of Holland*, and at the instance of the chief trading towns, especially *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*. I told the Prince, they

they might talk what they would of the *French*, and their growth at sea: but whensoever I saw them building ships here of that size, I should believe, it was done with some reflexions upon us. The Prince replied these words: *shall I tell you the truth? you may be sure, while the world stands, we will never fall out with England, if we can help it; but if you will fall out with us, whether we will or no, we should be sorry to be found unprovided.* I said, I believed, that would be as little as t'other, now his Highness was where he should be. And so the matter ended.

I am

SIR,

your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

SIR,

Hague, April 3. N. S. 1676.

SINCE my last of the 31st past, I have none from you; and intended not to trouble you this ordinary, had I not been engaged to it by an incident yesterday; of which it is necessary to give his Majesty an account.

In the morning Monsieur *Sylvercroone* came to me, and told me, the ship designed for *Gottenburgh* would be ready to set sail to morrow, and that Monsieur *Mortagne* was to go with the passports and the ratification of the late marine treaty. He told me, great talk had been raised in *England* of his pressing this dispatch; and justified himself upon his orders, as well as his intentions, only to save time in advancing the congress. In the afternoon the *Greffier Fagel* came to me from the *States*, to desire me, that I would interchange the *Swedish* passports and theirs, which were both in my hands;

hands ; they and the *Swedish* Ministers being both agreed upon it. I had recourse to your letter of *March* 3. wherein I found these words : “ that his Majesty
“ intirely approved my conduct in the matter of the
“ *Swedish* passports, and my refusing to countenance
“ any separate interchange of them. That his Ma-
“ jesty’s office being one common and general mediati-
“ on, and of one general peace, could not counte-
“ nance or suffer any separate steps, in whatsoever
kind they were made.” Upon this, I thought myself obliged to refuse absolutely to deliver the passports of one or t’other, unless the general interchange of all parties were agreed upon ; or I received particular orders from his Majesty. The Greffier seemed much surprised at this answer ; told me, the intention of this dispatch was only in order to a general peace, they hastening the arrival of those Ministers who were farthest off, and like to find most difficulty in coming to the congress : that the *Swedish* passports were sent hither from the *States* Envoy, and put into my hands by him, the Greffier, so as they might reasonably demand them again, when they were agreed upon the exchange with the *Swedish* Ministers : that I had not made any difficulty of it, when the Pensioner had spoken to me upon the first proposal of their sending a ship ; and he supposed I would not do it now, when it was ready to go. I confessed the last ; but said, I had since received the further knowledge of his Majesty’s mind in cases of this nature : that it was true, I had received the passports by their hands ; but with intention, as I understood, to reserve them for a general interchange : and repeated again, that I could not deliver them without his Majesty’s order ; but that I would not fail to acquaint him with it by this ordinary. Besides the words of your letter above-mentioned, I considered his Majesty’s being now engaged in the offer of the late expedient, which puts the business of passports into
another

another way. And, upon both these circumstances, I thought it my duty to make this refusal; though, I find, it will very much break their measures taken in this matter; and will be interpreted, or rather accused both by them and the *Swedish* Ministers, as a delay of the treaty. I must refer myself to his Majesty's judgment, whether I have done well or no, and expect his orders either to pursue or amend it.

The conference upon my last memorial has been put off till this afternoon, by three long conferences upon the business of *Bremen*; which is at length agreed, and the siege of *Staden* will go on.

I shall trouble you no farther, but to wish you the good feasts, and to assure you of my being,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, April 7. N. S. 1676.

THE Pensioner told me this morning, I should be possessed of the *States* answer to my memorial concerning his Majesty's expedient, time enough to send it away this ordinary. He added farther, that this answer was made by a formal resolution of the *States General* themselves, and not by the Commissioners of the secret affairs. I hear, it was resolved by these last, at their conference upon it, that, though all the rest of their allies should consent to it; yet, by their treaties, they (the *States*) could not do so, if *Lorraine* refused it. The Marquis de Grana received letters from the Emperor before he left this place, and Monsieur *Campricht* since, with orders, as they say, positively to refuse it. I am sorry to have given his Majesty so true measures of this matter from the very beginning;

ginning; and should have been glad to find myself discredited by his Majesty's meeting with such a return upon it, as he was persuaded to expect by men that ought to have known more of their Masters mind, than it seems they did. But since you were pleased to tell me, his Majesty's honour was not at all concerned in these kind of refusals, I have all the reasons that can be to be satisfied. Before that, I confess, I was of opinion, that it was not so in any proposals which his Majesty only handed from one party to another: but I was very solicitous to see nothing refused that came from his Majesty himself, and as his own.

Upon my positive refusal to deliver the *Swedish* passports, or those of the *States* for *Sweden*, without his Majesty's orders, they have not thought fit, it seems, either to attend that delay, or to lose the measures altogether which they had taken in that matter; and therefore have dispatched their ship for *Gottenburgh* with new passports from the *States*, and orders to exchange them for new passports from that Crown.

The Count *Montecuculi* has excused himself from serving this campaign; and Monsieur *Serinchamps* tells me, that orders are already come to the Duke of *Lorrain* to command the Imperial army. The Prince says, he will go to-morrow night to *Bergenopzoom*, and so to the rendezvous. Whether he will make a step hither again before they march from thence, is uncertain.

I am,

SIR,

your, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

SIR,

Hague, April 14. N. S. 1676.

SINCE my last of this day se'night, I am to acknowledge three of yours; one by a private hand, in pursuance of his Majesty's letter in favour of the *Jews* detained at *Surinam*; the others of the 21st and 28th past. I do not find either of the last contains any thing which requires answer; farther than to say, that I meet with nothing more here of noise or complaint concerning Mr. *Skelton's* stay at *Ratisbone*: what it may have occasioned in the empire, Monsieur *Ducker* will, I suppose, entertain you with suddenly, as he did me yesterday here in his way to the *Briel*, from whence he designed to pass with this packet.

For Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* last memorial, I find it of a different strain from the *States* answer to mine; and confess, this was different from what I expected; which was only, the allies Ministers referring themselves to new orders from their Masters. But, I believe, they took a pride in shewing the ampleness of their powers, to conclude matters of the greatest moment in whatever concerns the confederacy, without any recourse to their Masters. Monsieur *de Lyra* told me the night before the conference where that answer was agreed on, that he had never yet taken any thing *ad referendum* since he came hither; and that he would not begin now: that he had made a dozen treaties without any orders at all: that he had power to do whatever he thought would be for the service of his Master, without further instruction.

This morning the *Brandenburgh* Minister brought me the inclosed for his Majesty; and shewing me a copy of it, I told him, that his Master had treated his Majesty's expedient something better in his letter, than his Ministers had done in their late conferences: he replied,

replied, that they had a general order to conform themselves here with the Ministers of the other allies, in all affairs relating to the confederacy : that they had done so in this matter, though their Master sat looser than the rest in it, having no particular treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, as the house of *Austria* and this State had. He told me, the young Prince of *Brandenburgh* was now *incognito* at *Amsterdam*, but going from thence suddenly towards *Cassel*, to pursue the match designed between him and the young Princess of *Hesse*.

You are pleased to say, in your letter concerning the *Jews* at *Surinam*, that you were informed from the person who brought me his Majesty's letter, that I had made some difficulty upon it, for want of something more particular from you. He was an ill informer: for what I said to him was, that upon a difference I observed between the first clause of the petition, whereon his Majesty's letter was grounded; saying, the *Jews* complaining, were free denizens of *England*: and a clause in the Governor of *Surinam*'s answer to the Commissioners protest; saying, he had hindered no *Jews* from going, that were free denizens of *England*: I thought it necessary for me to know which of those allegations were true; and wondered you had not said a word to me upon this matter in any of your letters, which you usually did upon the dispatch of such letters to me from his Majesty. He undertook to inform me of the truth in those allegations; and has since sent me word from *Amsterdam*, that, though they were not all free denizens, yet he was sure his Majesty's meaning was, to redeem them as if they were. And, I suppose, his double diligence put him upon troubling you for a letter upon what I said. I shall soon give you an account of

this matter, if the Pensioner's absence for some days does not retard this, as well as other business.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir William Godolphin.

My Lord, Hague, April 14. N. S. 1676.

I Have the honour of one from your Excellency of the 25th past, by this ordinary, which gave me an account, with more certainty and particulars, of the rumour we had before concerning the arrival of the *Spanish* gallions. The reflexions you make upon it, are a true picture of mankind, and the motions that are frequently made in their minds, by accidents, that touch them, perhaps, no farther than their ears. The effects of this kind reach even to these parts, and, I believe, to the very extent of this great confederacy. This place is now as dead as I have seen any great town, or seat of public business, the Prince being gone last week into the field, at least to the first rendezvous of his troops near *Rosendale*, and with him all the company that used to fill this place. The disgrace of the Chancellor in *Denmark*, and the preparations for the siege of *Staden* and *Philipsburgh*, take up most talk here at this time; but will, I suppose, soon give way to the actions now likely to begin something nearer us; the *French* designs upon *Ypre*, *Aire*, or *Charlemont*, or some other considerable place in *Flanders*, being like to open a great scene there. The forces of the confederates will certainly be very great, as well as those of the *French*; and seem all to conspire towards a very active and bloody campaign.

The

The talk of the congress seems so out of date, that I am concerned for Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* melancholy post at *Nimeguen*; which still continues in expectation, rather than hopes, of some lucky incident that may still revive it.

I am ever, with much respect and truth,

My Lord,

your Excellency's

most faithful

humble servant.

To the KING.

Hague, April 23. N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

THE day before the Prince of *Orange* left this place, I attended him at *Hounslerdyke*, upon his own appointment; and telling me several times, that he had something to say to me before he went into the field, and desired it might be there, and at some leisure. When we were alone in the garden, he was pleased to tell me, I would easily believe the instances of the State, and of his friends, as well as the condition of his family, must needs have put him often upon the thoughts of marrying; but he had been still in hopes, that the conclusion of a peace would have made way for it, sooner than he now thought it was like to do: for, at present, he did not see when or how that could be brought about, unless your Majesty would resolve upon such conditions, as you should think fit to have it made upon; and so propose them to the parties, who were otherwise too distant in their pretensions, to agree easily themselves. That, upon this prospect, he began

began to think, his marriage could not longer attend upon the motions of the peace, which might be very slow and uncertain; and, therefore, he would tell me, freely, that he was resolved, in case he returned from this campaign, to neglect no time, or paces, that could be made in the pursuit of it. That for the person, I might be sure his inclinations would lead him into *England*, though he did not know what dispositions he should meet with there; and while the war lasted, it might, on this side, admit of much reflexions, both from this State and their allies. That, however, he would not go into the field without writing to your Majesty and to the Duke, of what he had so much at heart; and begging the permission, that, immediately after the campaign ended, he might go over into *England*. That he thought this would be necessary, both that he might make his own pursuit himself, in an affair that so nearly concerned him; and that, by asking leave so early, no time might be lost upon that occasion, when the campaign was over. That he had reason to desire this affair might, at present, be managed with all the secrecy that could be, and therefore was resolved to put the letters concerning it into my hands, and desired my wife might deliver them, both to your Majesty, and his Royal Highness; and that he would take care to send them to me before he went.

This was the sum of his Highness's discourse to me, when I took leave of him: and his letters both for your Majesty and the Duke, being some days after come to my hands, I thought it my duty to send them, according to the directions I received from the Prince, and shall leave your Majesty to know the rest from his own hand; though, I think, I have not mistaken any thing of what he said to me upon this occasion. I shall not farther increase your Majesty's present trouble, than

than by the humble professions of that perfect devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To the Duke of YORK.

Hague, April 23. N. S. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

WHEN I took leave of the Prince of Orange, at his going to the army, he was pleased to tell me the resolutions he had taken of writing to your Highness, upon an occasion he had so much at heart: and that he would do it before he went into the field. He said, he was resolved to apply himself directly to your Highness, in all that concerned it, and to beg your intercession with his Majesty, that he might have leave to go over into *England*, immediately after the campaign ended. That he would likewise write to his Majesty at the same time, to beg his permission. And because he had reason to desire, that whatever paces he made, at present, in this point, might be secret, he was resolved to put his letters into my hands; and desired that my wife, upon her going over, might herself deliver them both to his Majesty and your Highness; I thought it my duty to observe these directions; and having, by the same hand, given his Majesty an account of the manner, and circumstance, with which the Prince was pleased to enter into these discourses; I shall not presume to trouble your Highness with the bare repetition of them, nor with any thing more, at present, than the humble professions

essions of the devotion and truth wherewith I am always,

SIR,

your Highness's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, May 5. N. S. 1676.

SINCE my last of this day se'night, I am to acknowledge the favour of two from you; the first of the 14th past, inclosing the articles concluded by Sir John Norborough, with those of Tripoli, very much to his Majesty's honour, and the advantage of his subjects. The second, containing a large and particular deduction of the several considerations had by his Majesty, after his return, upon the *States* answer to my memorial, as well as upon Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* memorial, concerning the late expedient proposed by his Majesty, and the diversity observed between them. I hope I have fully comprehended his Majesty's mind in this matter, as well from this last, as from the former accounts you have pleased to give me of it; and having had the good fortune to make some paces perfectly agreeable to it, upon incidents wherein I could not be previously instructed, I may well assure you of my keeping close to it, in those where I am. This I conceive to be the chief intention of the lights you have last given me; and not that his Majesty intended I should make any representations upon them to the *States*; but only be prepared to reason those matters with them, in case any thing arises from them here, upon the paper you intended to put into Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* hands, whereof you please to promise me a copy by the next; and to say, what you writ last was for my own information; and that

that Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had excused himself, for giving that account to his Masters by that ordinary. I have not therefore entered into any discourses of this matter; nor shall, without occasion given me by them here; or, at least, the knowledge of their having received your paper intended Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*: but will only tell you my doubts, from what I observe in your last letter; that, as he was sometimes engaged further for his Masters, than he had power to make good to his Majesty; so he may have engaged further for his Majesty to them (upon private, or common discourses, passed from his Majesty to him, upon occasion of the *Lorrain* passports) than was ever intended, or could, indeed, be so, in a case not at all then foreseen. For in all our conferences upon that subject, they were ever full of the assurances given by his Majesty to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and from his own mouth, that there should be no difficulty in the passports for *Lorrain*. But their induction I always thought fitter for *Leyden* than the *Hague*: that it was all one to have no passports granted, as not to have them granted in due form: whereas, what was the due form, happened to be a thing wholly in dispute. But the bottom of all this, I suppose, is, that the parties are not yet weary enough of the war, to use any compliances towards the forming of a congress; whose motions must depend upon that of the campaign, while it lasts. So that, for ought I see, this knot is of those that must be cut through, and cannot be untied.

I took care to satisfy the Emperor's Minister here about Mr. *Skelton's* conduct, both from what you and he writ me upon that subject. And this Minister took as much care to have me believe, there was nothing of his own in what had passed; but that he had made the complaint here, formally, to the *States*, as well as the other confederate Ministers, by the express commands

mands of the Emperor himself. I think we are both satisfied in the matter; since I cannot blame any Minister's conduct, which is by his Master's order: and, I suppose, there is nothing likely to arise further upon this occasion.

I sent yesterday the *States* passes to the domestics of the French Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, for their return to *Charleville*, upon a letter I received from the Ambassadors themselves, to that purpose: which I take for no very good sign as to the congress; though they assured me it was only *une affaire domestique*, and they regarded nothing more than their own conveniences during their stay where they were, or in order to their journey by land to *Nimeguen*.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, May 11. N. S. 1676.

LA ST night, about ten o'clock, arrived here the express you were pleased to send away with the *Lorrain* passport, inclosed in yours of the 27th past: which I received with great sense of so happy success, in an affair by which his Majesty will receive no less honour than satisfaction; and whereof I have now, for some time, so much despaired. I thought to have detained the express till I had spoken to the Pensioner upon it; but the master of the vessel that brought him presses so much his dispatch, and the Pensioner having excused receiving me this morning at his own house, upon the assurance of seeing me at mine: I doubted his hour, after the assembly rises, might be too late for the other's

ther's impatience; and therefore resolved to let them make what haste they pleased away, with this acknowledgement of having received their dispatch, and with the inclosure of the memorial I have drawn up, and resolve this morning to put in upon it. The joy, as well as surprise, will be here as great as can agree with the anxieties they are in at present, upon the certain news arrived yesterday from their army of the Prince's beginning to march, on the 7th evening, with resolution to attempt the raising the siege of *Bouchain*; either by attacking the *French* camp at *Kievraine*, or that before *Bouchain*; which may very well produce some decisive action. I now see no farther difficulty in the forming of the congress, nor delay, besides the distance of ways; unless some may be occasioned by the passports of the allies, running in the first proposed form, with liberty of couriers, which, though *France* hath, in a manner, consented to, yet their passports in my hands being wholly without the mention of it, I know not yet whether the Ministers of the allies will raise any difficulty upon exchanging their larger passports for those of *France*, that are, in that particular, more restrained. But I hope to overcome this difficulty, by the *penchant* of this State to see the congress formed; and by proposing, in case they make the difficulty, that the exchange however may be made, though with reserve of that clause not being of force, unless *France* shall consent to the same liberty for the confederates.

Whatever may further occur between this and to morrow night, shall go in course by the ordinary, so as I shall not lengthen this by any thing that was to make up that dispatch, but only assure you of my being,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, May 12. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge the favour of two from you by the ordinary of the 25th and 28th past. The first brought my several inclosed copies, and with them a letter of his Majesty's to the Emperor, which I have put into his Minister's hand, and went away by the ordinary of this morning.

Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* kept his word with you, and writ not over hither the sum of your conference with him, till the post after that which brought it me from your hands. Nor did the Pensioner enter very far with me upon it; only excusing the signification of the word *Juger*, which they meant only for the expression of his Majesty's opinion; and professing to be sorry for any offence his Majesty had taken at it. He said he was unwilling any way should be given to complaints on that side; and that I was witness, how little he had troubled me with any, and how he had stopped some from the Ministers of the allies here: that otherwise they might have reason to make some reflexions upon our conduct of late in *England*; besides what they had been forced to take notice of by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, of his Majesty's giving leave to raise a new regiment in *Scotland*, for the *French* service, contrary to the express article of the last treaty, whatever might be said for recruits of the old. But the negotiations of several persons going abroad with characters from his Majesty, troubled him yet more, though the *States* had not thought fit to complain of them. I told him, I thought they did very wisely, considering how little ground some of those reports were found to have. Upon which he replied, that himself had read a letter from the Princess of *Courland*, wherein she says, that *de Crofs* (who, it seems, had

had been formerly a servant to the Prince her husband) had writ him a letter, upon his coming to *Copenhagen*, wherein he told him, that he came thither with a commission, and instructions, from his Majesty, to negotiate a separate peace between that Crown and *Sweden*. I excused myself from believing, that either his Majesty would enter into any separate mediation; or, if he did, that he would chuse a person for it, who would tell his commission where it was not necessary. And so his discourse ended.

On *Saturday* last Monsieur *Blaspyle* came to me, and told me, he had certain advice of six ships equipping at *Rochel*, with four men of war to convoy them, being laden with corn and other necessaries, for the relief of the *Swedish* places either in *Bremen* or *Pomerania*; and that their intention was to go first into *England*, and there get passes from his Majesty. That, though he was confident his Majesty would do nothing contrary to the office of a true and impartial mediator; yet he desired me that I would give his Ministers notice of this pretension of these *French* ships, which they seemed to believe themselves secure of succeeding in; and which would be directly against the interests of the Elector his Master.

Since the dispatch of your express yesterday, with the answer of what he brought me from you of the 27th, inclosing the *Lorrain* passports, the *States* have had a conference with the Ministers of the allies; and, as I conjectured at first, some difficulty was made about the exchange of passports; upon the difference in them, in relation to the liberty of couriers. But the Pensioner sends me word this afternoon, that he doubts not they shall end that matter in a day or two; by agreeing upon some act, or declaration, which shall leave *France* to the choice of either giving it, or wanting it; and so leave it one way or other, equal to both sides. That he doubted not, they should hereby
be

be ready to make the exchange of all passports, some day this week. And that the *States* had written a letter of thanks to his Majesty, upon this occasion, which should be in my hands to go with this ordinary.

I find you reckon upon my having been possessed of all the passports; but, though I have been so long of those from *France* and *Sweden*, and of those from this State for both those Crowns, yet I never was, of any from the rest of the confederates; though the respective Ministers have taken occasion to let me know, they had them in their hands, and were ready to deliver them, when those of all the confederates were come.

The next pace, I think, will be to agree upon the declaration of the neutral country; which is left by the confederates to his Majesty, provided it be between the two rivers. For my part, I see no certain bound can be given it, unless by those rivers and the *Fossa Mariana*.

I am,

SIR,

your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, May 19. N. S. 1676.

BY the last post, I had nothing worth your trouble, farther than the notice of what I received from the Pensioner, as the packet was closing; that he hoped the exchange of the passports might be made the next day, or on *Monday* at farthest. I heard no more from him till *Sunday* night; but finding a conference had been appointed for eight-o'clock on *Monday* morning, upon that subject, between the *States* and their allies, I thought fit to speak with the Pen-

tioner

oner late on *Sunday* night, and endeavour to know of him, whether there were any new occasion of this delay in a matter that I thought deserved a better and speedier reception. He told me, the true reason was, that the Emperor's Minister had not yet the passports in his hands, but that they were at *Cologne*, from whence he was certain to receive them that night: and that, after the next conference, the Deputies of the *States* would certainly attend me with the necessary passports, and make the exchange.

I remember very well, that some months since, the Emperor's Minister affirmed to be then possessed of all his passports; which I took notice of to the Pensioner, the delay being short, and then so near an end. But I have since reason to believe, the dispatch he expected was from *Dusseldorp* rather than *Cologne*, and concerted by him with the Duke of *Nieuburg*, in order to the producing such a resolution as I received yesterday from the *States*. The Pensioner had before observed to me some difference between the passports of *France* and those of the confederates, and the necessity of their insisting upon their being equal, which I undertake for. One was, that the word *repasser* was omitted in the *French*. Another was, that the clause for liberty of couriers was so likewise; whereas both were inserted in those of the confederates. And the third was, that there was but one *French* passport for any of the confederates, except only for *Spain*: whereas those of the confederates were, three for the *French* and *Swedish* Ministers; and so many would be necessary for each of the confederates; since they might think fit to send so many Ministers, and either from several places, or at several times, so as not to be capable of using one passport. In all these matters we found nothing of consequence to hinder the exchange of passports, and dispatch of them to the respective Ministers. Since, on the one side, I made no difficulty of engaging his Majesty's

Majesty's endeavours to procure the supplement of these defects on the *French* side: and, on the other part, the Pensioner said, they would declare, that in case that was refused, their passports should reach no farther than those of *France*; which I did not contest.

Yesterday, being *Monday*, afternoon, two of the *States* Deputies came to me, and told me, they came from their Masters, in the first place, to repeat their thanks, and those of their allies, to his Majesty, for the late offices performed in this matter of the *Lorrain* passports. In the next, to make the exchange of them, having brought with them those of their confederates; and to put into my hands, at the same time, the resolution taken by the *States* and their allies, declaring the conditions upon which the exchange was to be made. They excused the resolution's not being yet translated into *French* by reason of the haste they made to bring it me after it was agreed on; but did undertake to read it to me in *French*, out of the *Dutch* original. The first part contained those three particulars mentioned, and in the same manner the Pensioner understood they should pass: but after that came a clause, that whereas the Duke of *Nieuburg* was lately entered into the confederacy; that his Majesty was desired likewise to procure passports for his Ministers, and an assurance from the King of *France*, of granting passports to whatsoever Prince or State should hereafter enter into their alliance: without both which the present passports should be of no force or effect. And with these conditions they offered to make the exchange of passports.

I was, I confess, very much surpris'd to meet with a clause so little expected, and, as I thought, so very impertinent; and thereupon told them, without farther deliberation, my own thoughts upon it. That for the small difference in the form of passports, I thought there

there would be no difficulty, and questioned not his Majesty's instances and success upon them. That for the last, I esteemed it a very unfit return to so much pains as his Majesty had taken in the pursuit of this affair, and the diligence he had used, in the dispatch of the *Lorrain* passports, by express, immediately after he had, with so much difficulty, obtained them. That they had delayed the exchange of them now for eight days, and at length offered it with conditions that I esteemed wholly elusory, and upon which, for my own part, I could not think fit to make the exchange; not knowing what other advantage would be gained by it, than to keep the passports of the confederates as long in my cabinet, as I had already done those of *France* and *Sweden*: that upon the first offer of his Majesty's mediation, it was long before all the confederates had accepted it; and long before they afterwards agreed to a place of treaty, proposed by his Majesty, though in their own territories. That in *December* last they signified to his Majesty the names of all their confederates, for whom they desired passports, and upon the dispatch whereof they then assured the delivery of theirs, and those of the confederates, without farther condition. That an incident having fallen out upon the style of the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Majesty had, for several months, laboured for the removal of it, and, at length, obtained it, with great difficulty. That when he now expected the immediate change of the passports, and, consequently, the sudden forming of the congress, wherein his honour was so far engaged, they clogged it with two new conditions; of which I thought the first out of form, and out of time; and the other wholly out of reason and practice. That for the Duke of *Nieuburg*, I knew he was a Prince for whom his Majesty had not only a particular esteem, but kindness too; and, if either before, or after, the exchange of passports, they should have signified that new alliance

to

to his Majesty, and their desires of passports for him, I believed his Majesty would employ the same endeavours for his Ministers, as for those of the other allies. But, hitherto, his Majesty had received no notice of his entering into the confederacy, unless they intended he should have it from *Gazettes*: nor had the Duke of *Nieuburg* either received since, the offers of his Majesty's mediation; or, that I know of, signified his acceptance of it, by himself, or the *States*, as all other their allies had done: and; consequently, it was out of form, to desire his Majesty's offices in this matter, before those circumstances were passed. And it was very much out of time, to desire them just upon the exchange of the passports, and with condition of their being void without the success of them; since the exchange was intended for the sudden meeting of the Plenipotentiaries at the place of congress. And this condition must, of necessity, delay it, till both his Majesty's resolution were known in mediating a new proposal, and that of *France* in granting it; in which I was not yet informed of either of their intentions; nor could be, till a return from both Courts. That for the other part of the condition, which was an assurance from *France* of granting passports to all Princes, or States, that should hereafter enter into their confederacy; though they made it seem plausible, by offering the reciprocal to *France* and *Sweden*, from the confederates; yet I thought it wholly impertinent and impracticable. And though I could not pretend to know whether either his Majesty would think fit to desire it, or the most Christian King to agree to it; yet I was sure I would not be of the opinion for either of them to be done; or for any passports to be solicited by one, or given by the other, but for Princes and States that were named at the desiring of them. That the *States* might desire passports for the Kings of *Maccassar* and *Ceylon*, who were already their allies, or for the

the Duke of *Moscovy*, who, I hear, was invited into the confederacy of the present war. That I knew not, whether his Majesty would trouble himself with a mediation in their behalfs. That, to go nearer home, some Prince in the alliance of *France* might change his party, and enter into theirs; and I did not know, whether, in such a case, the most Christian King would think fit to admit such an ally into the treaty; or whether his Majesty would solicit it: nor did I conceive either could be resolved, without the considering of circumstances, as they should appear when the case came in question. That, in the mean time, to make the validity of the present passports depend upon a future condition, which could not be secured before-hand, were to make the congress wholly desperate: for no Ministers, either from *France* or *Sweden*, could think fit to come to *Nimeguen*, when, in case at any time during their residence there, upon the *States* desiring passports for a new ally, which *France* (upon circumstances that might attend it) should have reason to refuse, the present passports were to become immediately void; and not only thereupon, the negotiations, if begun, or never so much advanced, must immediately cease; but the *French* and *Swedish* Ministers must remain in their enemies country, without any safety to their very persons; since that could be grounded only upon their passports, which would remain in danger of becoming invalid upon any such accident. That, for my own part, I took this to be a strain of some of the allies, which were enemies of peace, and so employed their wits to find out pretences of delaying, or breaking the congress. That, however, since they brought it me as a resolution of the *States*, I desired it in *French* (as all used to be that passed between his Majesty and this State); though the use I intended to make of it, was not so much to send it to his Majesty, as to draw up, immediately, an answer to it of my own,

own, containing the present remarks I had made to them upon it, and what others should occur to me upon second thoughts, which I would not only send to the *States*, but, at the same time, print and publish it; that all their subjects might see upon what points they and their confederates turned the affairs of the peace: in which I knew very well how the people of these provinces were concerned, whether the government, or their allies, were so, or no.

Upon these representations the Deputies of the *States* were so far moved, that, instead of replying, or maintaining the resolution they had brought, they told me, what I had said was of so much weight, that they thought themselves obliged to represent it to the *States*, before they delivered me the resolution. That they desired me therefore to excuse them for the delivery of it, till next day; and, in the mean time, were very glad to understand my opinion upon it, which they would report to their Masters that very evening, and doubted not of having another conference upon it, this morning, with their allies.

At their going away, after all this had passed, one of them told me, privately, *Que j'avois la plus grande raison du monde*: that their compliance with some of their allies had engaged them in this matter, upon a letter from the Duke of *Nieuburg*, that came yesterday, desiring no exchange might be made of the passports, without securing his according to his treaty.

That which I understood to be at the bottom of this whole matter, is, the interest of the Emperor, not only to secure the passports for the Duke of *Nieuburg*, who is at present entered into the alliance, but likewise for the Duke of *Bavaria*, who, they believe, will also be suddenly engaged, and, chiefly, by the offices of the Duke of *Nieuburg* to that purpose; who being of the same family, has great credit and influence in the

the Court of *Bavaria*. And, they believe neither of them will be engaged without the same condition, of being equally considered in all treaties, and comprehended in any peace, with the rest of the confederates already named.

I know not what I shall receive from the *States* this evening, and before the closure of this packet. But, in the mean time, I thought it necessary to give his Majesty this account of what has hitherto passed: and am of opinion, the *States* will not be able to bear the noise of this matter, if they persist in it; but that, in such a case, they will be forced to consider the humour of their people, as well as the interest of their allies.

Thus far I had written by four o'clock this afternoon; since which time the Deputies of the *States* have again been with me, and told me, that having represented to the *States* the reason I gave them yesterday against the resolution they had then brought me, they had since had a conference with their allies upon them; and that they all agreed, that to express the general and sincere intentions they all had towards a peace; and withal, the great regard they had for the opinion of an Ambassador of his Majesty's, in what he thought concerned both the honour and desires of his Majesty in the mediation of the peace; they would remove those difficulties I had observed like to arise upon yesterday's resolution; and to that end had altered the resolution itself, and brought me in a form, which they doubted not, would agree with his Majesty's intentions; and had given it the same date, to the end there might be no appearance of the former resolution: and that in pursuit of it they were ready to exchange the passports without any such conditions as were yesterday mentioned.

I read the resolution (which I send you inclosed) and found n othing else to reflect on, but the last clause;
and

and asked them, whether they understood it to refer only to the precedent period, concerning the equality pretended in the passports; or, likewise, to that former clause about the Duke of *Nieuburg*. They both affirmed, that it was meant only to refer to that immediately preceding, and not to what concerned the Duke of *Nieuburg*. Upon this we proceeded to the exchange of passports; in which we found several points a little defective: as that four of the *German* Princes had not yet sent their passports; nor could they assure me when they should have them. But the chief was, that those of the Emperor were not yet here; but they affirmed, that they were every day expected, and that they had been here some months since: but, upon those of *France* being short of the form agreed on, especially in the clause about couriers, the Emperor's Minister had sent for new ones in the same form; and was assured they were at *Cologn*, where he had likewise sent the old ones, so as to be now possessed of none.

In the next place, there were no passports from *Spain*, no more than from the Emperor, for the Bishop of *Strasburg*; but these they assured me were consented to by both, and undertook to put them into my hands. In the next place, because *France* had sent but one passport for each of the confederates besides *Spain*, they had each of them sent but one for *France*; and the same happened likewise in those of *Sweden*. But the exchange of our passports having begun by those of *France* and *Spain* and this State, and some of these difficulties not appearing till that was performed, which seemed the most material; we concluded to go on in the exchange: as far as we were provided: and thereupon proceeded as far as you will see marked in the inclosed list. Those from *France* and *Sweden* to the Emperor, and the four *German* Princes who have not yet sent their passports, I have

retained

retained still in my hands till theirs arrive. I shall expect those of the Emperor till *Friday*; by which time the Deputies assure me they will be here. If they come not by that time, I shall be sure, however, to dispatch away all those I am already possessed of, to the *French* Ambassadors, by the conveyance you prescribe me of an express to *Mastricht*; and deliver those for *Sweden* to Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, the Commissary of that Crown; excepting one you desire for Monsieur *Spar*, which I shall send in blank to your hands, being already possessed of three from the *States*; and resolving to endeavour to get as many by that time from *Spain* and *Denmark*, if those Ministers have so many in their hands.

For the Bishop of *Strasburg* I formerly sent you one from this State; and shall follow it with the rest as soon as they arrive. In the mean time, you will please to procure three passports for the Emperor, for I have yet but one; and that may, for ought I know, be the reason of the Emperor's Minister's disowning to have any passports; being a man something punctilious, and having desired me, a week ago, to procure them, not without complaint of such a neglect from *France*; but without any thing that looked like his wanting those of his Matter.

I hope his Majesty will approve the progress I have made in this matter, though it be not yet compleat; which has fallen out, chiefly, by the number of passports failing on the *French* and *Swedish* part. I cannot but be glad to find it upon the terms it now is, considering where it was yesterday; and did not expect so absolute a change of the resolution, in so little time; having last night found Monsieur *Serinchamps* very peremptory in defending that resolution of the *States*. But this morning the *Hanover* Resident told my Secretary, that there had been very warm debates upon it, between the *States* and some of their allies, who persisted

246 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

sisted so far, that the Pensioner asked them: *et que pretendez vous donc, Messieurs? de nous faire déchirer par la canaille.* But these passages of their private conferences you will please may not be public, because that may hinder me another time from knowing them; which is sometimes necessary to acquaint me with the springs from which the public motions of such affairs arise.

I have reason to think you tired out with this length; and am very sensible of being so myself: which leaves me only to acknowledge yours of the 5th, not finding any thing requires farther return than what I have already said about the passports you mention from Monsieur Spar, and the Bishop of *Strasbourg*.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, May 22. N. S. 1676.

BY last post I gave you an account of the exchange of passports being made late that night: I delayed the sending them away to *Mastricht* till this morning, both in expectation of the Emperor's passes by last ordinary from *Germany*, and likewise in hopes of obtaining two passes more from each of the confederate Ministers by the offices promised me by the *States* Deputies to that purpose. Yesterday one of them sent me word, they had endeavoured it in vain, and they would give no more than one, though they had more in their hands, till they receive as many from *France* as was desired of them,

This

This morning the Emperor's Minister sent me word, his passports were not come by the last night's ordinary; and that the old ones, which he expected from *Cologne*, had been in Monsieur *Fisher's* hand, who was since gone up into *Germany*; so that he sooner expected the new ones from *Vienna*. Hereupon I made my dispatch ready to be sent away to *Mastricht* by noon: when, just upon the parting of it, I received a letter from Monsieur *Pomponne*, desiring me, that instead of the passport for the Duke de *Vitry*, there might be one for the Marechal d'*Estrades*, whom the most Christian King had appointed his Plenipotentiary in place of that Duke, upon the continuance of his indisposition. I was forced hereupon to open my packet again, and sent the Duke of *Vitry's* passport to the Greffier, with this desire; but he returned me answer, that the States were up, and that it could not possibly be done till their sitting down again to-morrow morning; so that it will be to-morrow noon before my packet with the passports can go away.

If you think it necessary for the *French* Ambassadors to have three several passports from each of the confederates, you will please to desire the same number for each of them from *France*, which the *Swedish* Commissary here has promised to do from that Crown; but especially for the Emperor, who has, it seems, already named three Ambassadors for the congress. You will please likewise to press the declaration of the neutral country, which the confederates, on their part, have left wholly to his Majesty to extend as he pleases, provided it be between the two rivers. If his Majesty pleases to pitch upon any certain line to the east from one river to another, the thing is done: but, for my part, I cannot see how any other can do it, but the *Fossa Mariana*, which is an open canal, and so will leave no dispute: besides, it takes in *Cleve*, where, for ought I hear, the Princes who have accepted the Pope's

Pope's mediation, design the residence of that Minister, or in some village near it.

I send you inclosed a passport of the States for Monsieur *Spar*, which your last desired; though he writes word to Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, that he goes not to the congress, but into *Sweden*. I send you likewise a passport from the Duke of *Lorrain* for the Bishop of *Strasbourg's* Minister; which is all yet come to my hands. That of the States you have long since; and Monsieur *de Lyra* has promised me one from *Spain* with the first; as the Emperor's Resident has likewise done for his Master, with the other passports.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, May 26. N. S. 1676.

BY my last I gave you an account of one day's delay fallen out in dispatch of the passports, by the change desired by Monsieur *Pompone* in that for the Duke of *Vitry*. The next day, being *Saturday*, I procured the passport for the Marechal d'*Estrades*, and dispatched away the trumpet to *Mastricht* about noon. He seemed to doubt he could not be there under four days, so as I cannot expect to hear of him again till the end of this week.

I assured the *French* Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor's passes, and the other four *German* Princes (that were wanting) in some few days; but endeavoured to possess them, how little those passes would be necessary for their journey to *Nimeguen*, which I hoped they would not delay upon that occasion. I know not how they

they will understand or govern themselves, but shall inform you as soon as I receive advice by the return of the trumpet.

I have this day received yours of the 12th, and shall make the best use of what you there advise me, concerning the mistaken grounds of so many surmises here about his Majesty's partiality in the present war, which I have met with oftener of late, than I thought fit to trouble you with, and ought to ask your pardon for doing it at all, unless it be upon formal complaints from the States; though, perhaps, it may not be unfit for you to know something of their thoughts and common discourse in this kind, as well as of their formal paces.

I am fully instructed by your last, in the state of his Majesty's present resolutions concerning the first visits, which are to attend upon his further pleasure, after the mind of the *Austrian* Ministers is known. As to that of the neutral country, I very well remember the state it was left in, which you are pleased to mind me of: but, as *France* refused the extent his Majesty would have given it, to take in *Meurs*, so the confederates absolutely (and, indeed, from their first accepting of the town of *Nimeguen*) excluded that offer of two leagues round it, and confined the neutrality to the two rivers. Nor is the jealousy of the *French* entering into the heart of the country, greater in the Prince and those of the present government here, than it is in the *Spanish* and Imperial councils; so as that is a limit that cannot take place: nor, indeed, if it could, do I see how any line described, only by distance of leagues, or any other measures, can ever free that matter from perpetual disputes upon incursions which parties may make, and trust to wrangling about what distance the place was at where the hostility was committed. Therefore, I desire you will put his Majesty in mind of some resolution in this matter (upon which

250 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

I refer you to what I said in my last since, till it be agreed and declared, there can be no safety for the Ministers that will be repairing to the congress.

I shall speak to the Pensioner, of Monsieur Oudart's business, the very next time I see him, and give you an account of it. Which is all I remember at present necessary to lengthen this trouble, from,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the Ambassadors of
France, Messieurs Col-
bert and d'Avaux.

Hague, May 22. N. S. 1676.
Messieurs,

AFTER so many difficul-
ties in the affair of the
passports, at last, about two
days ago, they have been ex-
changed. I have ever since
been in expectation of the
Emperor's passports, which
his Minister gave me reason to
believe, would be brought by
the courier which arrived here
from Germany last night.
Those of the Elector Palatine,
of Mayence, of Treves, and
of Munster, are also behind;
but are promised to be deli-
vered in a very few days.
The other confederates will
give me no more than one pass-
port each, although I have
good reason to believe, that
their Ministers here have three
in their hands: their dealing
thus is founded upon this;
that

Aux Ambassadeurs de
France, Colbert & d'Avaux.

La Haye, May 22. S. N.
Messieurs, 1676.

Près tant des difficul-
tez sur l'affaire des
passeports, l'échange se fait
à la fin depuis deux jours.
J'ay attendu depuis pour a-
voir ceux de l'Empereur,
lesquels son Ministre icy m'a
fait esperer par le courier
d'Allemagne, arrivé hier au
soir. Il y a aussi ceux de
l'Electeur Palatin, de May-
ence, de Treves, et de Mun-
ster, qui manquent encore, et
qu'on promet en fort peu de
jours. Les autres confede-
rez ne m'ont voulu donner
que chacun un passeport, en-
core que j'ay raison de croire
que leurs Ministres icy ont
trois en main; mais ils se
fondent

that each of them have been furnished with one passport only from France. Notwithstanding these little defaults, and the restrictions made by the inclosed resolution of the States General; I thought it my duty no longer to put off dispatching those passports which I have already received for your Excellencies; being fully persuaded, that these incidents can in no ways be any hindrance to you from making use of them for your journey to Nimeguen; the rout that your Excellencies will take, being at a sufficient distance from any of the territories of those Princes who have not as yet sent their passports. The Imperial Minister assures me, that the delay on his side is only owing to a change made in the form of the passports, occasioned by the denial of France to permit the free passage of couriers: this has stopped the first passports upon the road, which had been dispatched by the Emperor; and the incident about the Duke of Lorrain, which since fell out, is the reason why no more haste has been made in dispatching new ones. I do not apprehend that there is any great mystery in this; but believe, that it is all rather owing to oversight, than to any ill intention. I shall, however, take care to press, as far as possible,

fondent sur ce qu'il n'y a eu que pour chacun d'eux un passeport de France. Nonobstant ces petits défauts, et les restrictions portées dans la resolution de Messieurs les Etats enveloppée, j'ay crû de mon devoir de ne plus deferrer la depeche des passeports que j'ay en main, vers vos Excellences, ne croyant pas que ces circonstances vous peuvent empêcher de vous en servir pour le voyage de Nimegue; la route que V. Ex. doivent tenir se trouvant assez éloignée de terres de ces Princes là, qui n'ont encore envoyé leurs passeports. Le Ministre de l'Empereur m'assure que ce retardement n'est arrivé que par le changement survenu au formulaire des passeports sur la refus de la France de consentir à la liberté des couriers; ce qui a fait retenir en chemin les premiers passeports depechez par l'Empereur, & que l'incident de Lorraine étant survenu depuis, on ne s'est pas pressé de depecher les seconds. Je croy qu'il n'y a pas grand mystere, & qu'il y a eu plutôt de nonchalance que de malice. Je ne manqueray pas de presser tant que je pourrois

possible, the doing what is yet behind; and, in the mean time, I hope your Excellencies will endeavour to get two other passports dispatched for the Emperor and two for the States, for whom, as yet, I have received only one, no more than I have for any of the other allies, excepting Spain. The Ministers of Brandenburg demand also three, in granting which I do not see there can be any difficulty. I have sent this present dispatch to Monsieur d'Estrades, by a trumpeter, as I was ordered by his Majesty, and should be very glad to hear, as soon as may be, that your Excellencies have received it, and to have the honour and pleasure of shewing you at Nimeguen, with how particular a respect and esteem I am,

Messieurs,

your Excellencies most

humble and most

obedient servant.

pourrois le reste de cette affaire; & en attendant j'espere que vos Exs. tacheront de faire depecher deux autres passeports pour l'Empereur, & deux pour cet Etat, pour qui je n'ay receu qu'un encore, comme pour tous les allies hormis l'Espagne. Les Ministres de Brandebourg en demandent trois aussi, sur quoy je ne vois aucune difficulté. J'ay envoyé la depêche presente par un trompette à Monsieur d'Estrades, selon les ordres de sa Majesté, & seray bien aise de savoir au plûtôt que V. Exs. l'ayent bien receu, & que j'auray bientôt l'honneur & la satisfaction de vous faire voir à Nimegue le respect & l'estime particuliere avec laquelle je suis,

Messieurs,

de V. Excellences

tres humble & tres

obeissant serviteur.

Au

To

To Monsieur d'Estrades.

Hague, May 22. N. S. 1676.

SIR,

BY order of the King my Master, I send to you the paquet directed to my Lords the Ambassadors of his most Christian Majesty at Charleville, in which are contained the passports of the confederates necessary for their proceeding to the place of congress. I make no question but you will take all needful care to forward so great a work, and pay all due regard to his Majesty's desires, that no hindrance may be any way put to the advancing it as much as possible.

I desire you, Sir, to let me know by the trumpeter, when he returns, that it is come safe to your hands; and that you still have in your remembrance one who has been so long time, and shall always continue, with a very particular esteem,

SIR

your Excellency's most

humble and most

obedient servant.

To

Au Monsieur d'Estrades.

La Haye, May 22. S. N.

Monsieur, 1676.

PAR les ordres du Roy mon Maître, je vous envoyé le paquet destiné pour Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy tres Chrétien à Charleville, & contenant les passeports des confederes necessaires à leur voyage au lieu de congrez, je ne doute pas que vous en ayez le soin qui est deu à l'acheminement d'un si grand ouvrage, & au desir de sa Majesté, qu'il n'y a point de retardement à la faire avancer tout ce qui sera possible.

Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de me faire savoir par le retour du trompette, que vous les aurez bien receu, & qu'il vous souvient encore d'une personne qui a été si long tems, & qui sera toujours avec une estime tres particuliere,

Monsieur,

de V. Exe. le tres

humble & tres

obeissant serviteur.

Au

To Monsieur d'Estrades.

Hague, May 23. N. S. 1676.

S I R,

I Had yesterday finished the inclosed dispatch, to send it you, pursuant to the orders of the King my Master, with my request, that you would please to forward it as soon as possible to the Lords the Plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty at Charleville: when the trumpeter was upon his departure, I received a letter from Monsieur Pomponne, in which he advised me, that your Excellency was appointed one of them, in the room of the Duke of Vitry; and therefore desired me to dispatch forthwith a passport for you, and to stop that which was already in my hands from the States General for the said Duke: For, as for the Spanish passports, they have blanks left in them, and so there is no need that they should be changed on this occasion. This has caused one day's delay, there being no possibility of dispatching the passport yesterday in the afternoon, because the States never assemble but in mornings. In the mean time, I greatly please myself with receiving so agreeable a notice, which gives me hopes of enjoying an assistance and a conversation such as is yours, the latter of which will

Au Monsieur d'Estrades.

La Haye, May 23. S. N.

Monsieur, 1676.

J'Avois hier achevé cette dépêche enveloppée pour vous l'envoyer selon les ordres du Roy mon maître, & vous prier de la faire tenir au plutôt à Messieurs les Plenipotentiaries du Roy tres-Christien, à Charleville. Quand le trompette devoit partir, j'ay reçu une lettre de Monsieur de Pomponne, par laquelle il me donna l'avis que votre Excellence en étoit un, au lieu du Duc de Vitry; & me pria de faire dépêcher un passeport pour vous, en retenant celui que j'avois en main pour ledit Duc de la part de Messieurs les Etats Generaux. Car pour les passeports d'Espagne ils sont tous en blanc, & n'ont besoin d'aucun changement sur cette occasion. Celuy a causé le retardement d'un jour, le passeport ne se pouvant dépêcher hier l'après dînée, puisque les Etats ne s'assemblent que les matins. Mais en même tems j'ay été consolé par une si agreable nouvelle, qui m'a donné l'esperance

will not be more agreeable to me, than the former will be advantageous in conducting an affair of such high importance, and that deserves to pass through hands as experienced and successful as yours are. On this account it is, that I ought rather to wish his most Christian Majesty joy of this choice, than yourself, since you will find, no doubt, a great deal of trouble in it, as well as reap a great deal of glory from it.

I send you a copy of the inclosed letter to Messieurs Colbert and d'Avaux, as also the resolution of the States mentioned therein, that you may see in what condition this whole affair lies. I beg the favour of you, to give me notice by the trumpeter, at his return, that the packet is delivered safely into your hands.

I am,

S I R,

your Excellency's

most, &c.

sperance de jouir d'une telle assistance & conversation comme la vôtre, dont l'une ne me sera pas plus agreable que l'autre utile dans une affaire de si grande importance, & qui merite bien une main aussi habile & beureuse que la vôtre. C'est pourquoy je dois plutôt feliciter ce choix à sa Majesté tres-Chrétienne, qu'à vous, qui aurez pour vôtre partage beaucoup de peine sans doute aussi bien que de gloire.

Je vous envoyé une copie de la lettre enveloppée à Messieurs Colbert & d'Avaux, comme aussi de la resolution des Etats y mentionnée, à fin que vous voyez l'état de toute cette affaire. Je vous supplie de me faire savoir par le retour du trompette que vous aurez bien reçu le paquet.

Je suis,

Monfieur,

D. V. E. &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Hague, May 29. N. S. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

THE inclosure of this letter from his Majesty, must bear me out in giving your Highness this present trouble. It came to me seconded by one from Mr. Secretary *Coventry* upon the same occasion, and was delivered to me by the Lady in whose favour, I suppose, it was designed. I told her, I did not believe your Highness would do any thing in those kind of affairs till your return from the field; and she seemed to believe so too; but, however, desired I would send your Highness the letter; which I promised by the first: and that is all my part in this affair.

All that I can say in another, wherewith your Highness encharged me, is, that * the person chiefly concerned, endeavoured to have it excused absolutely till after the peace; and that such an answer might be given; upon which time was taken to consider: since which I have heard nothing, but imagine it is possible your Highness may by a nearer way.

Having exchanged the passports, and dispatched them to *Mastricht* a week since, I do not foresee any thing likely to hinder the *French* Ambassadors journey to *Nimeguen*, though it may be a little delayed by the Count *d'Estrades's* exception to his pass from the States, which styles him only *Conte*; to which he desires may be added, *Mareschal de France*. I suppose, there will be no difficulty made upon it, nor, I hope, in the Emperor's passports, though they are not yet come; but, I believe, it may have been only negligence, without any other mystery.

In my last letters from *Madrid* of the 7th current, our Ambassador there writes me word, that, after a consultation

* The Duke of York.

consultation in that Court, upon the proposal of his Majesty's expedient, of giving all the passports himself; the Count *de Pignoranda* had come to him with a message, declaring that King's consent to it, so far as concerned all his dominions and territories subject to his obedience. The Ambassador writes farther, that this resolution was taken there, contrary to the advice of many passionate letters that were written thither upon that subject from *Holland* and *Flanders*. I thought this was a light fit to give your Highness, because you would not, perhaps, receive it any other ways: for Monsieur *de Lyra* professes to know nothing of it, and would make a difficulty of believing it; though I am sure it cannot fail after the manner it comes to me.

I have not yet fixed the time of my going to *Nimeguen*, expecting other motions that way, unless new orders press me from Court. I doubt not, but what passes in the field, will signify more than what will pass there this summer, as to the peace, which your Highness says (in the honour I received of one from you of the 18th) you will labour in. I am very sorry for the accidents you tell me have hindered you in so great a design, and very glad of the hopes you express of being able to advance it; since nothing can be of more glory to your Highness, and nothing can touch me more than whatever is so; being as I am, and as I shall be ever, with so much devotion and truth,

S I R,

your Highness's most

obedient and most

humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, June 2. N. S. 1676.

ON Saturday last, I received a letter from the Marechal d'Estrades by the trumpet I sent, with acknowledgment of my paquet inclosing the passports for the French Plenipotentiaries, which, he said, he had dispatched away immediately to Charleville; excepting only his own passport from the States. This he sent me; but finding fault with their treating him *Le Sieur Comte d'Estrades*, without the stile of *Mareschal de France*; and desiring me to procure another with that change. This I have done, and dispatched it away to him this afternoon; but could not, at the same time, send him the Emperor's passports, which are not yet arrived.

I do not think it can be this default, which makes so little advance as yet in the preparations for *Nimeguen*, that Sir Lionel Jenkins writes me word, their servants there own to know nothing yet of that matter; and have no orders to get any thing ready to convey or receive them. I rather suppose, it may be the business of the *Comte d'Estrades's* equipage, which he intends very great; having sent hither for passports for his servants, to buy two and forty coach-horses; and by a list the trumpeter shewed me of their intended equipage, his share is four and twenty *lacquais*, and all the rest in proportion. The other two will have the same number between them. The *Spaniards*, you know, that cannot vie with the French in things of more importance, will not fail of doing it to the height in this. And, I remember last year, when the Marquis de Manceras was designed for the congress, a list was sent hither of the equipage he intended, of which there were to be twenty pages. I suppose, the Marquis de los Balbaces may not go lower; having, they say,

a revenue of two hundred thousand crowns yearly, besides the allowance for his embassy. If all be like to go at this rate in such a town as *Nimeguen*, I do not see how we shall avoid one of the three judgments, of war, or famine, or sickness; besides, that it is not his Majesty's intent, for ought I find, that his Ambassadors shall enter the lists upon any such emulations. I cannot tell if these circumstances may make it seem worth his Majesty's considering, whether it would be fit to write to the several Crowns concerned in this treaty, that, to prevent the disorder and inconveniencies of too great trains in a small town, upon the assembly of so many Ministers, his Majesty had commanded his not to exceed each of them the number of four pages and eight *lacquais*, and would be glad the rest would follow that example. As likewise for all crimes against the peace of the place, each Ambassador should be allowed to put his servants so guilty, into the hands of the usual justice of the town of *Nimeguen*. And that they should be instructed to live easily in all points of mere ceremony during the congress, like persons who were sent thither with dispositions to advance the peace, and not to sharpen the quarrels of their Masters, by those of the Ministers; which may otherwise very well fall out. I thought it possible some such circumstances could not be amiss to add to circular letters, which his Majesty might send, for hastening away of the several Ambassadors, upon the end so happily attained in all preliminary difficulties: for, I doubt, there may be need of such instances towards the dispatch of the *Austrian*, *Danish*, and *Brandenburgh* Ministers, by the dispositions I observe from the motions of those Courts thus far of the way.

This day one of the States Deputies brought me the inclosed paper grounded upon a memorial given them by the *Brandenburgh* Ministers, in a style so *brusque*, as I hear, as to desire of the States, that till the change pretended,

260 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

pretended, were made in his Master's passports, they would give order to forbid the *French* Plenipotentiaries entrance into the town of *Nimeguen*. I hear, he expects not only to send Ambassadors, but to have them treated, in all points, like those of crowned heads: in which I neither know his Majesty's style, nor that of *France*; but suppose, it will be necessary for us to be distinctly informed of the first.

I was extreme glad to find by your last of the 16th, his Majesty's final resolution upon that matter of the first visit; which I ever foresaw would engage us, and perhaps the congress, in some difficulties. You will please more particularly to instruct, whether we are to give the first visits likewise to those that come after us from the Duke of *Lorrain* or the Electors, with characters of Ambassadors: for, I hear, those from the Duke and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* will certainly do so.

Monfieur *de Lyra* will not acknowledge to know any thing of what Sir *William Godolphin* writes me, of that Crown's having consented to his Majesty's expedient; but I have told it the Pensioner, who says, he will another time desire him to consult with his instructions, or, at least, with his letters, to know whether he is like to be avowed or not.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

SIR,

Hague, June 5. N. S. 1676.

SINCE my last of the 2d, I am to acknowledge the honour of one from you, of the 19th past, with his Majesty's commands concerning an authentic explanation to be drawn from the States, of those words in their resolution of the 18th past, *Que l'échange se feroit sur ce pied*; as likewise concerning the offices his Majesty desires should be made from hence in the case of Prince William of Furstemburgh.

For the first, I do not expect any difficulty will be made in it, having this day spoken with one of the Deputies present at the exchange of the passports, who remembers and acknowledges what they then said to me upon the interpretation of those words: so that by next post, I hope to send you the declaration you desire to that effect.

For the second; I shall speak with the Pensioner about it, the first time I can see him: and since, I suppose, his Majesty desires it only that the thing should be done upon the offices to be performed by Mr. Skelton at Vienna, I shall use my utmost endeavours towards it, by engaging as far as I can, either the offices of the States, or some of the chief persons among the Commissioners of secret affairs (if the Pensioner continue to decline it) so as it may be understood at Vienna either by the States Ministers there, or by the Emperor's here; that this State would be glad his Majesty may have satisfaction in this point. I shall likewise endeavour to engage the Imperial Ministers here in this pursuit, and the Marquis of Grana, whose credit goes a great way, they say, in that Court. And all this I shall do as from myself, without interesting his Majesty's name any further in this matter.

I have at length, after many and long discourses about the matter of revisions, received the inclosed answer; which, I see, contains what the Pensioner always told me: that, what they are engaged to by the letter of their treaty, though against their intention and his Majesty's, as they were then assured from their Ambassador, they will yet perform: but that they cannot upon that pretence, be pressed to things wholly against the constitution of their government, and wholly unprovided for by the very letter of the treaty.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, June 9. N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge the favour of one from you of the 26th past; which had but too just an excuse for the haste of it, upon so unhappy an accident as you had been that day surpris'd with by the fire in *Southwark*. I was very glad to find you expected suddenly some determination in the business of the neutral country; which seems to be the point now most pressing in relation to the congress.

The Emperor's Resident tells me, there is an express upon the way, with the passports from that Court, and pretends to expect them with the end of this week. But I foresee, he will make difficulty of delivering any more than he receives; and you are not yet pleas'd to give me hopes of having two more sent for the Emperor from *France*, which I put you in mind of some time since. I do not hear, that the *French* Ambassadors are like to make any difficulty of coming to *Nimwegen*

neguen for want of those passports; nor for the States having in their resolution of the 18th past, tied up the exchange, in a manner, to the reciprocation. Nor do I think, they will have need to make any difficulty, or that there will be any danger, as to the validity of the passports, though such little circumstances should be either refused or delayed by *France*. I send you, however, inclosed, the States declaration in form, as you desired, of those words, *Sur ce pied là*; relating no farther, than to the clauses immediately preceding, about the equality pretended in the passports.

I have been casting about how I might best succeed in what his Majesty desireth to be effected, in the business of Prince *William*. I spoke first to the Pensioner, who is obstinate to excuse himself from meddling in it, or consenting to any thing from the States in favour of it. But I put it so home, from his Majesty's having reason to expect this point of deference from the Emperor, after having received so much greater from *France* in the two preliminaries; that he said, for his part, he wished the Emperor would do it, so he had no hand in it. And upon my proposal, that Monsieur *Mauregnault* should both write to the States Resident at *Vienna*, and speak to the Emperor's here, to possess them both that the States would be content the thing were done, and wished that his Majesty might not be disobliged in it: the Pensioner consented to it, but desired that I would speak to Monsieur *Mauregnault*; and that I would do it in his (the Pensioner's) absence, who was going to the Prince. Immediately after he went, I spoke with Monsieur *Mauregnault*, who was content the thing should be done; but would not adventure to do it of himself: and said, this private way had been proposed before, by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*; but was not thought fit to be either done by any of the Commissioners, without order, nor to be proposed at the council of secret affairs. All I could do,

was

was to engage him to speak with the Emperor's Minister last night, and to endeavour to possess him of it, as what he believed, was the opinion of the States; though they did not think fit to enter into it. From him I went immediately to the Emperor's Minister, because the post was to part for *Vienna* last night; and I knew not whether Mr. *Skelton* might not have orders already to advance his journey.

To all I said upon this subject, though as wholly from myself, and out of a desire that his Majesty should not have occasion to think himself less considered by the Emperor than by *France*: he answered, that he wished it himself; but that, upon the last representations I had engaged him in, he was ordered to say no more upon that subject; because the Emperor had resolved to open that whole matter at the beginning of the congress, and in such a manner, as, he was sure, would satisfy all the Princes there. Besides, he said the States had ever expressed so great a repugnance in this matter, that he believed his Master considered them in it, as well as himself. However, I did not leave him till he had promised to write last night, and represented all the reasons I had given him, and the assurances I made him of the States being rather desirous the thing should be done; which I knew he would be confirmed in by Monsieur *Mauregnault*, before the post parted.

This is all I have yet done, but am resolved, tomorrow to try one point more; which is, to engage Monsieur *Mauregnault* to propose it at the committee of secret affairs, which is now very thin, while the Pensioner is absent; and endeavour to engage them either to write themselves to their Resident at *Vienna*, or, at least, to order the Greffier to do it: so as he may satisfy the Emperor that it is a thing desired by the States; and will be thought prudent by them to make such a compliment to his Majesty, at this time. If I

can

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 265

can compass it, I hope it may go by the post on Thursday night, and you shall have a farther account of it by next ordinary.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, June 12. N.S. 1676.

SINCE my last I engaged Monsieur *Mauregnault* to move the Commissioners of secret affairs, to write to their Resident at *Vienna*, concerning Prince *William*, and in the terms I proposed; according to what I told you in my last. He has been since with me, and told me, he chose his time, when there were but three more; but they excused themselves, upon their Resident being either parting, or already parted, from *Vienna* this way; having lately obtained leave to return hither, upon his particular affairs. Though this be given me in payment, yet, I believe the truth is, they are timorous of acting any thing in the absence of both Prince and Pensioner, without being instructed in either of their minds. So that I have been able yet to go no farther than engaging Monsieur *de Lyra's*, and Monsieur *Campricht's* offices at *Vienna*, upon Monsieur *Mauregnault's* telling them what he thought was the mind of the States. Upon the Pensioner's return I will try once more, whether he will be content to be understood by the other Deputies in this matter, whether he speak or no; which he ever excuses, upon a solemn vow he has made to the contrary.

I told you in a postscript of my last, that the Emperor's passports were just then arrived. The next

day that Minister here put in the inclosed memorial, which the Deputies came to acquaint me with the same afternoon. I told them, they might understand it as they pleased, but for my part, I looked upon it as a captious thing, and should so declare my sense of it publicly, if upon the suggestions in it, he made difficulty, or delay, to exchange the passports; since he knew very well the form of those from *France*, and that they were without the clause for couriers; and if exception had been taken at that, the Emperor's passports might have been drawn up accordingly, as the *Spaniards* have been of a second edition. That for the number, I had writ to have it supplied from *France* and *Sweden*, and expected it. But in the mean time, to take away all excuse, I was content to exchange one for one, till I should be possessed of more. Hereupon I gave the Deputies the copies of the *French* and *Swedish* passports, to be communicated to Monsieur *Campricht*, according to his desire.

Yesterday I sent to Monsieur *Mauregnault*, to know what was like to be done: but he returned me answer, that the Resident was satisfied with the form of the *Swedish*, but not of the *French*: and that he was resolved to put in another memorial, to excuse himself from making the exchange till all was reciprocal. I went to Monsieur *Mauregnault*, and made him sensible how all these exceptions of the Resident were expressly provided against, by their resolution of the 18th past, and that the States were to answer to the world, for all captious or elusory paces, that were made in this matter of the peace, by their allies, as well as themselves; since it was in their power to support them in it, or to leave them. This afternoon Monsieur *Mauregnault* sent me word, the States had resolved their Deputies should go to the Resident, and absolutely demand that two of the Emperors's passports, one for *France*, and the other for *Sweden*, should be put into their hands, to be exchanged

changed for the same number from those two Crowns. That they, the Deputies, were to go this afternoon; and if they found him, they would give me a farther account of it, before the parting of this ordinary.

I hear of another difficulty made by the *Danish* Minister, about the want of an *Éc.* after the words *Daniae & Norwegiae*, in the *Swedish* passport; which both the Pensioner and Monsieur *Mauregnault* have recommended to me: but I refused to meddle in it, unless they gave it me in writing, which, they say, will be done; and then, I suppose, you must be troubled with it, as I always expected to be with any delays or difficulties that could be raised by several of the *German* confederates, who hoped to find their account in the war. But, I believe, though the States seem not inclinable to separate at all from them in the gross of the affair; yet they will not support them in what is only captious or dilatory: nor could they, I believe, answer it to the popular clamours it would raise here; which is an argument I am often fain to have recourse to, and not without reason, or success.

By the extraordinary diligence of this last packet, I am already possessed of yours of the 30th past. To which I find other return due at present, besides the acknowledgment of what you there tell me, of his Majesty's resolutions already taken, in order to the congress; and the expectation you gave me of what will be farther considered as to the treatment of electoral or ducal Ambassadors. As much as I have heard, no such have been received in the *Spanish* Court; but in the *French* they have, from the Duke of *Savoy*; I think never from that of *Lorraine*; and cannot well tell whether from any Elector, or no.

I am very glad his Majesty falls in with my representations, about devolving the care of the peace, and punishment of criminal offences, upon the Magistrates of the town: not only for what you please to remark, for the newness of the thing, if it were left to the Mediators,

diators, as this State has designed; but because it were impossible for us to discharge such an office, without certain distaste to some of the parties; which, I think, is our part to avoid all that can be. However, for what may concern ourselves and our servants in that matter, I think it will be necessary for us to have instructions, allowing us not only to propose it to the rest, but to do it ourselves, in case occasion be given. For without orders, I doubt, it will not be fit for us to subject ourselves, or any that belong to us, to any justice besides his Majesty's.

For the compliment you enjoin to be made to the States, or the Pensioner, upon the change of his Majesty's resolution concerning the first visits, since the arrival of their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*: I shall chuse rather to do it to the Pensioner, at his return, than pass any formalities upon it towards the States. What you intended towards the *Dutch* Ambassadors already at *Nimeguen*, is, I believe, performed. For, among several queries in point of ceremony, which Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*'s great modesty sent me last week, upon the expected approach of the *French* Ambassadors, one was, whether to take notice of that matter to the *Dutch*? and, whether before or after he made the visit to the *French*? Upon his earnest desire I adventured to give him my opinion in all of them; and in this it was, to take notice of the change of his orders to the *Dutch* Ambassadors even before the arrival of the *French*; and to tell them, that, his orders being general, he would now do the same to any other *Dutch* Ambassador that should hereafter arrive. I have found by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*'s last that he was pleased to approve of what I had writ upon all the several points, and resolved to do accordingly. So that, I suppose, this is already performed, and in the manner I mentioned.

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 269

I shall send you a deduction of what concerns the Merchant-adventurers by the next; and remain ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

Since the writing of this, and just upon the closure of the packet, two of the Emperor's passports are delivered me, in exchange with one from *France*, and another from *Sweden*.

To the DUKE.

Hague, June 16. N. S. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

AFter so great an honour as this packet brought me, by one from your Highness of the 30th past, I thought it could not too soon be either acknowledged or obeyed. And, therefore, I presume to give your Highness most humble thanks for the honour I received, at the same time I dispatched away the inclosed to the Prince of *Orange*. I very well remember his Majesty's mind, which he was pleased himself to signify to me when I was last in *England*, upon discourse of the Prince's journey thither; but never had any occasion to make use of it, till I took leave of him, the day before he left this place. For, though his Majesty had last winter some jealousy of such an intention, yet I never heard the Prince say one word towards it, since my first coming over till then, unless it was when my Lord Chamberlain was here; and whatever he said then in my hearing, looked rather like civility, or return of compliment, than any serious thought. When he entered those discourses upon it, which I gave his Majesty and your Highness an account of, I told him his Majesty's mind; to which he replied, that he had
always

always thought so too, while he had any hopes of the peace being made: but he did not see how that could be, unless his Majesty would make it, by declaring the terms upon which he thought it fit and reasonable for both parties to agree. That he did not find his Majesty disposed to make this peace; having never received any answer to what he had written upon that subject. And, therefore, the war being, in his opinion, like to draw out in length, he was resolved to try if he might have his Majesty's leave, to make that journey after this campaign, and thereupon to write those letters he sent me. Further than conveying them I had nothing in commission from his Highness, but only to endeavour that it might be a secret. And, I must confess, as far as my short sight will reach, I think there can be no inconvenience in that, from circumstances of all sides, whether it ends here or no; which will depend wholly upon his Majesty and your Highness.

I am sorry this station furnishes me with no occasions of entering into your Highness's more particular service, by the honour of your commands; which should always meet with the obedience that becomes me, and the constant devotion wherewith I am,

S I R,

your Highness's most faithful,

and most obedient

humble servant.

To

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 271

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R, *Hague, June 19. N. S. 1676.*

SINCE my last, I have received from the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, two passports for the Emperor, as many for the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, and this State; with three for the Duke of *Nieuburg*: so as there want only from *France* two for *Denmark*, whose Minister here is, to the full, as punctilious as any other. Those for the Emperor I exchanged yesterday, and transmitted the three Imperial passes immediately to the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, who, by their letters, pressed me for them, as well as for the rest from the *German* Princes. The others I could not yet exchange, the *Brandenburgh* Ministers being out of town, and the *Nieuburg* passports not being yet arrived. Those, likewise, from the four *German* Princes I before mentioned, are not yet come; but, I question not, a few days will bring all into my hands. Those last arrived for *Brandenburgh* are in the style he desires, of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary. I do not hear of any other Duke, or Prince, besides that Elector, that intends to give his Minister the style of Ambassador; and I wish he would have declined it: for, on the one side, he expects they should be treated like those of crowned heads, and they, I doubt, will not understand it so. I know some have said upon it, that they thought as much ought to be given to a King's Envoy, as to an Elector's Ambassador if that style be allowed them: I hear it has never been so in *France*, no more than in *Spain*: and that the pretence is grounded, chiefly, upon his Majesty having treated Prince *Maurice* so, being Ambassador from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*: which I had never heard any thing of till the other day, from the *Lunenburgh* Minister here.

Having

Having observed in his Majesty's instructions of December 16th, 1675, to his Ambassadors for the congress, that I was commanded to repair immediately to *Nimeguen*; after having procured effectually from the States, whatever should be found necessary to be done on their parts, as well for the actual forming the assembly, the determining a reasonable circuit of neutral country, next adjacent to *Nimeguen*, between the two rivers of the *Waal* and the *Meuse*; as for the dispatching by themselves, and their confederates, the passports necessary for the other parties, in the forms that are proper. And conceiving to have now accomplished all three points; the determination of neutral country between those two rivers, being wholly left to his Majesty by the States, and their allies; and the passports necessary being all exchanged, and those less important being yet every day expected: I thought myself obliged by the tenor of his Majesty's said instructions, especially upon the arrival of the *French* Ambassadors, to prepare myself for my journey to *Nimeguen*. And having a house there already upon my hands, at the rate of very near fourscore pounds a-month; (though his Majesty is not pleased to consider that, or any other expences necessary upon this removal I) have given order for carrying away my goods to *Nimeguen* with the first, intending to follow them so soon as my house, by their arrival, will be ready to receive me; which, I suppose, may be about the time that, in answer to this, I may know if his Majesty has any further commands for me here before I go.

I remember but two businesses relating to this place, that I am yet to give you the account of; which are, that of the *Jews* petition for *Surinam*, and that of the *English* company at *Dort*. I promised you a deduction of this last by a former post; and have deferred it only because I would do both together, and speak to the Pensioner once more, upon both of them, before

I did it: which I have not yet been able to do; but hope to do it by the next, and give you the account of them; as well as of what he will be induced to in the business of prince *William*.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R, *Hague, June 24. N. S. 1676.*

W Ith your two last of the 6th and 9th, I have received all the several papers you were pleased to send me, concerning the several parties acceptance of his Majesty's mediation; as likewise what concerns Mr. *Skelton*'s present dispatch. I have, since my last, made my utmost attempt, both upon the Pensioner, and the other Commissioners of secret affairs, in order towards the facilitating that pursuit, by some offices from hence. And though the Pensioner continued obstinate to move nothing in it himself; yet I prevailed with him, at length, to let the others understand, that he should not dislike their doing it: and that whatever the Emperor should be content to do, in compliance with his Majesty, he believed this State would be satisfied with. Hereupon I got Monsieur *Mauregnault* to propose it again yesterday; and at night he came to my house, but not finding me within, he left word with my Secretary, that what could be done was resolved in that business; and that they had written to communicate it to the Prince, according to their forms. I have not been able to find him to day, so as to know the particulars; but suppose they will amount to something that may conduce to the good of

the affair, which I shall, by next post, give you account of. I have made all my instances in this matter as wholly from myself; but Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* writ them word, that I had orders from his Majesty, which I was content they should believe from him, though I owned it not.

I send you inclosed a letter for his Majesty, from the Duke of *Hanover*, delivered me by his Resident here; who desired that his Master's passports might stile him Duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh*; and his Ministers, Plenipotentiaries; not, *Ministres & Deputez*, as the *French* stile runs to all the German Princes, except those they sent last for the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and *Nieuburg*. I observed in these last, with some wonder, that the stile used not only to the Elector's, but to the Duke of *Nieuburg*'s Ministers, is, *Ambassadeur & Plenipotentiaire*; whereas, in the former passports lying still by me, for the Electors *Palatine*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, it is only *Ministres & Deputez*; which the *Hanover* Resident tells me, he hears none of them will accept of; and, that the *Brandenburg* Minister here was almost disgraced, for accepting one in that form, upon the exchange. I received letters from the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, two days since, excusing, that the two passports remaining due to *Denmark* had been forgot, and promising to sollicite their expedition by the first. But the last you sent me for that Crown, from *Sweden*, will not be accepted by their Minister, giving that King the title of *Daniae* only, without *Norwegiae*, as the first *Swedish* passports run; and it passed, though with some exception for want of an *Et*; but this is absolutely refused: and I know not how such difference or uncertainty has happened in the same matter, and from the same hand. You shall, by the next, receive the copies you order of all the passports that have not passed your hands; your letter being arrived too late for it, by this ordinary.

I told you in my last, of my preparing for my journey to *Nimeguen*, upon the several points enjoined me, as necessary to forming the congress, being now so near wound off. But, as the instances of the *French* Ambassadors there, as well as Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, press me to hasten that remove, so the Ministers of those Princes whose passports are not yet exchanged, press my stay till that matter is wholly ended; and the States are very desirous to have the neutral country determined before I go. Between these two; as for the satisfaction of the first, I have given order for shipping away the best part of my household-stuff to-morrow; so I shall stay here myself, till I receive his Majesty's orders in answer to my last. I desire likewise to know his Majesty's pleasure, whether upon my going to *Nimeguen*, he would have me leave a Secretary here; or, whether he think the business here, in my absence, will require another hand.

I am promised the answer about the *Jews* at *Surinam* by the next; and shall not fail to send with it the state of the Merchant-adventurers company; so as this shall give you no farther trouble, then by the assurances of my being ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, June 24. N. S. 1676.

I Have, by some letters from my wife, received so great testimonies of your Lordship's favour to me, that I find it as hard for me to make the acknowledgments that become me, as it would be to neglect them any longer. Therefore I could not forbear engaging your Lordship in this trouble; though I have nothing else

else to bear me out, besides the humble thanks I am to return your Lordship, for concerning yourself so obligingly in what touched me so unjustly ; and the assurances, that no man can be either more sensible of your favour, nor more resolved to deserve it by my services, whenever they be worth your Lordship's employing upon any occasion.

I am endeavouring, as fast as I can, to get loose from hence, in order to my journey for *Nimeguen*; where we are like to enter into a wide sea : and, though we should steer the course his Majesty prescribes us never so well, yet it will be a great deal subject to the winds that shall rise from the humours of the several parties, and the tides that will run differently according to their successes. The *French* have given, of late, all the facility they could to the congress, and made haste to the place, as desiring no better peace, than upon the present plan of affairs. The confederates, especially the house of *Austria*, are sullen, as losers use to be, and so, in all the paces of the treaty are slow and resty ; hoping for something from the campaign, which may make room for pretensions that would hardly be in countenance as things stand at present. The *Swede* is earnest for a peace ; as having more hopes of recovering himself that way than by a war. This State desires it as much as any, and has no pretences of its own ; but dares not break from their confederates, not trusting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, so as to depend upon either after the peace is made. *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* are eager in the war ; finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unrelievable by *France* any further than their money, and so hoping to drive them this summer out of *Germany* ; which, for ought I see, they may endanger, if the concert of the confederates prove answerable to their strength in those parts.

With

With these dispositions the congress is to begin ; but how it will end, must certainly depend, in a great measure, upon the successes that will attend the campaign. The designs, at present, of the confederates, seem to determine in the siege of *Stratsonde* in *Pomerania* ; of *Philipsburgh* in *Germany* ; and in *Flanders* upon that of *Mastricht* : and it will be hard if one of these does not occasion a battle, which may be more decisive than any siege.

I know your Lordship has but too much share in the trouble of my constant letters to Mr. Secretary *Williamson* ; and therefore, I shall not give you any further interruption, than by the very unfeigned professions of my being most passionately, and ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

and most humble servant.

To the KING.

Nimeguen, September 2. N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

THOUGH what we writ jointly this day of our conjecture, that some of the parties, perhaps, on each side, would this winter endeavour rather to fall into separate measures with some of the parties, than to advance a general peace, was grounded upon what Sir *Lionel Jenkins* told me, he had observed in his late visits and conversations with the *French* Ambassadors ; wherein they owned, very plainly, their hopes and expectation of breaking the force of the alliance this winter, by drawing off either the *Dutch*, or, at least, some of the *German* Princes : yet I thought fit to trouble your Majesty with some more particular observati-

ons

ons of my own upon this subject, in discourse more private with several of the parties, and which I have not communicated to any other. Monsieur Colbert, after much compliment to me the first month I was here, of his Master's particular esteem of me, and of his own believing, that no man but I could make the peace, in regard of the interest he believed I had with the Prince of *Orange*, and of the necessity there was of the house of *Austria's* complying with any measures the Prince should take; has lately descended into more particular discourses, of the advantages the Prince shall be sure to find in a treaty with the King his Master: of the convenience the Prince would find in carrying it on privately with *France*, during the more public negotiations here: that the late Duke of *Bavaria* did the same at the treaty of *Munster*, and thereby was the person that made that peace, and, at the same time, established his own interests with all the advantage he could propose to himself: that the Prince of *Orange* might act the same part here, and with the same success both to the general peace and to himself: that he could negotiate it by no man so well as by me; and none could have a part of greater honour or advantage than mine would be in the conduct of such an affair. I told him, upon this occasion, the truth of what I thought concerning the Prince and myself in this matter; which was, that though, perhaps, his Highness would hear me talk to him, either of his general or particular interests, as soon as another man, yet I had never known that person who had *aucun pouvoir sur son esprit*: that your Majesty had found you had a great deal less than you had reason to expect; and that others had none at all, who pretended to have more than their share: that, by what I knew of the Prince's dispositions, I much doubted the relief of *Mastricht* would not dispose him to the peace: and that he would be loth to sit down melancholy at the

Hague

Hague with that thorn at his heart. That I heard he was *fort dépité* at present; but that, when the campaign ended, I should have occasion of seeing him, and should then be sure to know the bottom of his heart; which I should acquaint your Majesty with, and observe your directions upon it. Monsieur *Colbert* replied, that if the Prince would by me have given them any private assurances, that the carrying of *Mastricht* would have disposed him to the peace, he was sure the King his Master would willingly have given him the glory of it, and employed his army somewhere in *Flanders*; *mais qu'il ne falloit pas quitter le certain pour l'incertain*; that he believed the Prince was in ill humour upon it, *mais que le temps le rameneroit*; and that he believed, that would not be before the end of the campaign.

I observed, in some particular discourses of Monsieur *Beverning*, in a humour when we are aptest to tell truth, that at least, for his own part, he was extreme ill satisfied with the *Spaniards*, and with the war being pursued only for the interests of that Crown, who contributed so little towards it; that he desired the peace so much, as, if *Spain* would not be reasonable in it, to wish for it without them. This, I know, is the sense of the substantial part of the people in *Holland*, as well as his; and whether the Prince, and the persons at present in the government, will be able, after this disgrace at *Mastricht*, to keep the spirits there in temper enough to carry on the war another year, I cannot yet, or at this distance, take upon me to judge.

I have observed by my conversation with the *Swedish* Ministers, both at the *Hague* and here, that they desire a peace with more impatience than any of the parties; and so far, that, if they cannot have it general in a short time, they would be glad of a particular one, either with *Holland*, or the Duke of *Brandenburgh*.

denburgh. They do not think *France* considers them at all in proportion to the losses and misfortunes they have engaged them in: and one of their Ambassadors told me, he did not believe *que les affaires fussent encore dans l'affiette que la France demandoit, ny qu'il estoit necessaire pour leur faire tout de bon souhaiter la paix generale.* He said this a little mysteriously, making me believe, he had already particular reason to think so, but should, in a little time, know more, and would then, in confidence, acquaint me with it.

I doubt it will be necessary for me, in the course of this affair, sometimes to give your Majesty some such accounts as this, of what may pass to me in particular confidence from some of the Ministers, either by force of old acquaintances, or any other motions they shall find towards it: and, possibly, they may give your Majesty more light than the more open paces here. But if your Majesty will avoid the trouble, and appoint any other person, to whom I shall address such dispatches, I shall not farther presume to give your Majesty these interruptions; but content myself with your Majesty's pardon for what is past, and with your justice in believing and accepting that inviolable truth and devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

your Majesty's most loyal,

subject and servant,

W. Temple.

To

To the KING.

Nimeguen, September 20. N.S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

UPON the Prince's return from the army, he was pleased to write me a letter, giving me notice of it, and desiring me to meet him at his house near *Utrecht*, which I did on *Thursday* last. I staid two days with his Highness, and had very large discourses with him upon the events of the present campaign, and appearances of the treaty. As to my own part in them, I shall only say, that they were all applied to those ends, and in that method, which I thought most agreeable to your Majesty's intentions, and to the several instructions I have had the honour to receive from your Majesty, or by your order upon this subject. The substance of all his Highness's discourse, I shall sum up in as few and as short heads as I can for your Majesty's ease.

He expressed great sense of the misfortune of this campaign, and said, he knew very well, *Le malheur de son poste, ou pendant que les autres faisoient les fautes, c'estoit à luy de souffrir la honte*. When I told him, that was too hard an expression, and that no-body thought he deserved, he repeated it again, and said, it must be so in the opinion of all the world, but only some few, who knew the inside of the business: that he saw no remedy for it with the present conduct of *Spain*, nor with such men as they employed in *Flanders*: that some of them were loth to venture the army, and some as loth to venture themselves, and others knew not how to do either *à propos*: that I might very well think, however, that he had no mind to sit down with the disgrace of such a campaign; and that if the *Spaniards* could but garrison their towns, so as to make any defence, in form, he would yet hope, he might have

his revenge another year, by trusting to no army but his own.

When I asked, whether he thought the States were in humour, or the country in condition to go on with the war? he said, he would not dissemble it, they had a horrible mind to the peace; but so they had for these two last years: that they were, however, able to go on with it, especially if they were eased of their subsidies to the allies, and would be insensibly engaged in it, as they had been these two last campaigns, if they could not have a peace with some honour and safety.

When I took notice of his little inclinations to any sudden peace, he said, on the contrary, he had a mind to it, and that no interests of his own should delay it; but that he could not tell how to come by it (which words, I remember, he spoke in *English*): that he would deal plainly with me as to his own thoughts; that though a congress was necessary, yet, he believed, we could not hope to make a peace here in less than about four years: that he was of opinion, if your Majesty would have it this winter, you must make it yourself, by telling all the parties upon what terms you expected and thought reasonable it should be made: that if you would do this, you must at least employ more private negotiations towards it, and first sound *France* to the bottom, instead of sounding him (the Prince); and this for two reasons: first, because *France* was single, and Master of their own resolutions, which he was not; and though he could answer for himself, yet he could not for those he was engaged with. Next, because if his Highness or *Spain* should first declare themselves upon the conditions of a general peace, *France* might very well make use of it towards breaking their alliance, or the confidence of it, which they could not do towards *France*, which had no other ally but the *Swede*, and him but very little considered, either in the peace or the war.

When

When I would have entered into some discourse of conditions the most apparent for the peace, he said, that, upon the whole, he did not believe, in the present posture of affairs, *France* could possibly be brought to such terms as it was possible for the allies to accept; nor was it reasonable to think or to hope they should, after such a campaign as had passed in *Flanders*. But it was not ended in *Alsace*, nor, perhaps, in *Flanders* neither: for though he would not go into the field again to do nothing, yet, if there should happen a good occasion, he would be gone again at half an hour's warning: that, however this campaign should end with *France*, it was like to pass well enough against the *Swedes*; and as they had already eighteen thousand men of the *Lunenburg* and *Munster* troops by the conquest of *Bremen*; so they hoped to have thirty thousand more next campaign, if the *Swedes* were beaten out of *Pomerania*, which was not unlikely yet before the year ended.

He said, we must talk over this matter again when the campaign was done, and that we should then know better what to say upon it: that it would be necessary for me to come sometimes to the *Hague*, and to that end advised me to get leave to do it whenever I saw occasion. I told his Highness that I had it already, and should make use of it whenever his Highness thought it necessary, and would let me know it, as well upon any other occasions of your Majesty's service there.

I remember no more to trouble your Majesty with out of all our discourses upon this matter. There was one thing his Highness said, which, I think, will be fit to tell your Majesty, though he might not intend it. He told me, he had received a letter from your Majesty, in answer to that he sent by my wife; that you had refused him leave to go over into *England* before the peace, and with terms something hardish (which were his *English* words); that he thought it was fit to take an answer when your Majesty gave it him; and

and therefore he should trouble you no more about it; that your Majesty best knew when you thought was a fit time for him to do it, and he supposed, would let him know it, since, it seems, he did not himself.

I cannot but add one word of an advice of another kind, and from another hand, because it was new to me, and looked considerable. Upon discourse with Count *Oxensterne*, about the Court of *Vienna* (where he had been lately Ambassador) he told me, the Emperor was so infirm, that it was not believed he could ever have children that would live; that this being foreseen, he found among the Ministers there, that it was resolved, in case of his dying without sons, to leave the whole succession of the Duchy of *Austria*, and its dependencies to the Duke of *Lorraine*, with condition to marry the Emperor's sister, and by this means to make way for his being Emperor, which he did not believe there would be any difficulty in, especially when such an accident should find him in the head of the Imperial army.

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for this long interruption, and your acceptance of that humble and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most loyal,

and most obedient, subject and servant,

W. Temple.

To the KING,

Nimeguen, October 19. N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

I Cannot better acknowledge the honour of receiving your Majesty's particular commands, than by assuring

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 285

Assuring your Majesty of the infinite satisfaction I shall have in obeying them. I do not remember, that the reflexions I made upon my last discourse with the Prince, went so far as what your Majesty is pleased to make upon them in your last letter. I did not conclude upon all which past, that he had a mind to continue the war; but rather, that he was unresolved between the desires of repairing his honour by another campaign, and the fears of being more in such company as he is joined with in *Flanders*. But though his dispositions seemed doubtful, yet his judgment was indeed very positive, that the peace would not be made this winter, unless your Majesty undertook it, by advancing some propositions of your own towards it: he concluded, that we should talk it over again after the campaign should be ended on all sides: and, indeed, the winter quarters of the Imperial armies, where-ever they fall, will open the prospect into the next year's events, more than any thing that has passed this summer: for if the *French* can maintain a defensive war in *Alsace* another campaign, I believe they will take *St. Omers*, *Cambray* or *Valenciennes* (if not two or all of them), in spite of all the *Dutch* and *Spanish* forces will be able to do in *Flanders*, unless a very great change happen in their conduct or fortune. But if the *German* armies should enter into *France*, that Crown may, perhaps, have work enough on that side, and be thereby forced to call away so many of their troops out of *Flanders*, as to leave the Prince of *Orange* an easy campaign there. This, I find, the *French* Ambassadors here apprehend, in case the *Swede* be wholly beaten out of *Germany* this season, and the alliance continues united and vigorous another year. And Monsieur *Beverning*, after all his *Fanfares* about a separate peace, (which your Majesty will meet with in two of our joint letters by the last and this ordinary) seems too public and affected to mean much more, than to induce the Empe-
ror

ror into those measures: for, after he had talked himself sober with me upon that whole subject, he said at last, in plain terms, that if the *Germans* would let *Brisac* alone, and enter into *France* next spring; the States would not make the peace this year; and that they had already taken their measures, and found they could go on with the war another campaign, and with the same forces they had this last, or something greater, if there were a good occasion.

He intends to go again into *Holland* about the 10th of next month, when the next Assembly will be of the States of *Holland*, at which time the counsels and measures are usually taken for the ensuing year, and always for the chief expence of it, as near as it can be then foreseen. I hope my Lord *Berkley* will by that time be here: and then I shall take an occasion of going again to the Prince; and shall, I suppose, be able, at so critical a time, to make a clearer judgment of what your Majesty may hope from him, as to the peace; and neglect no endeavours to give his Highness those impressions which are not only agreeable with your Majesty's intentions, but, in my opinion, with his own interests too, in the posture he stands with friends and enemies, both at home and abroad. I shall then give your Majesty a full account of what dispositions or motions I find at the *Hague*, which the *French* Ambassadors say, upon all occasions, must chiefly govern what passes here. In the mean time, I shall only beg your Majesty's pardon for this interruption, and your justice in believing me what I shall ever be, with the greatest devotion and truth,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most loyal,

and most obedient subject and servant,

W. Temple.

To

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 287

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Nimeguen, October 31. N.S. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

I Received lately a letter from his Majesty, dated at Newmarket the 8th of this month, and in answer to the account I gave him of your Highness's discourses with me at *Soesdyke*, and your opinions, that his Majesty proposing the terms of a peace to the parties, will be the only way of making it. His Majesty says upon it, that he doubts your Highness has a mind to continue the war, which he is sorry for; because, as it is conducted by your allies, he fears, you will not find your account in it; and assures me, one of the great motives he has for the peace, is the belief, that your Highness will be the better for it; that it has ever been his endeavour, and is so still, to oblige *France* to declare itself to him upon what terms they will be content to make the peace; but if they will not, it must take the forms which the congress here will give it; and if that will not bring it to pass, his Majesty must content himself with having done what he could towards it, according to the figure he has taken of the common mediator. Upon another subject his Majesty says, he is glad to understand from me, that your Highness is of opinion, you must learn from his Majesty the time of your going over into *England*, which is not yet proper for it; but when it shall be so, he shall be as glad to see you, as you can with yourself.

I have given your Highness the King's own words in what I have written, between two marks, and intended to have given you a larger account of it myself at the *Hague* before this, if my Lord *Berkley* had come hither so soon as we were made believe: it cannot be long before he arrives; and it will not be long after, I hope, before I shall have the honour of kissing your Highness's

Highness's hands, and ending the discourse we began at *Soesdyke*. In the mean time, I am with great thanks to acknowledge the very great favour which my wife says, your Highness is pleased to offer, of lodging me at the *Hague*, and may very well take your Highness at your word, if the weather and my health continue ill, as they have been of late.

I send your Highness inclosed a letter I received from Mr. *Sidney*, which came not sooner, because, as I found by another, he had great disputes with his father before he would give this answer. I am very sorry for it; but since you find the Lieutenant Colonel so very capable, I hope it will be no loss. In case he has the regiment, Major *Archer* has begged of me to mention him to your Highness, for the Lieutenant Colonel's place, which I should not do, but that I remember your Highness expressed a very good opinion of him; and I find by him, that he cannot (as he says) possibly live on the regiment he is with *Fentwick* and *Weasly*. I hear, this last is endeavouring to turn out one Captain *Knight*, for having been a friend to Major *Archer* in some of their quarrels; I humbly beg your Highness to suspend any such resolution, till I have the honour of seeing you. I am ever, with perfect truth and devotion,

S I R,

Your Highness's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

W. Temple.

To

To Mr. Secretary Williamfon.

S I R,

Hague, January 5. N.S. 1677.

SINCE my last, the day after my arrival here, I endeavoured to speak with the Pensioner upon those matters relating to this embassy, and still remaining without any answer, or, at least, dispatch. After having twice excused himself upon his indisposition, at length he gave me an hour; and I found him in the posture of a sick man, complaining of *une fièvre lente*, and weakness upon the loss of very much blood; which, he said, was all *sanguis adustus*. Which I repeat from his own mouth, as expressions that, compared to other circumstances of our conversation, made me conclude his illness to be at least as much of mind as of body; and derived, perhaps, from the fatigue and chagrin of his business, rather than his ill constitution; though something of that be natural to him.

I first complained of the States delay, not only in the satisfaction, but even in the answer due to two of his Majesty's letters, upon the business of the three Scots Ministers, which I took to be clear in the words of the treaty; and subject to no dispute or evasion, he confessed, it might look like a neglect in the States, not to answer the letters they had received from his Majesty; but they had delayed it, in hopes his Majesty might have been satisfied with the reasons their Ambassadors in *England* had been charged to represent on that subject; and they were unwilling it should appear by their letter, either that his Majesty demanded a thing of them by virtue of a treaty, which they did not think the treaty obliged them to; or that any of the King's subjects, who were, or should be hereafter banished by his Majesty, might from their letter take occasion to hope for refuge in these countries. But if I would enter into the debate of this matter at a conference

rence with the States Commissioners, and should not be satisfied with their reasons, but desire them in writing, they would either give them me to represent to his Majesty, or else they would comprehend them in a letter to his Majesty, in answer of those they had received from him.

I said, I was resolved to enter upon this matter, and see the bottom of it while I was here; but hoped, they would upon it be so far satisfied with the clearness of the case, as to answer his Majesty's demand rather by compliance than reasons: and so we resolved to attend two or three days, in hopes he might at that time assist at the conference, since he desired it; and I knew very well, nothing would be done to any purpose without it. I found, however, that the stress of their pretensions will lie in the difference between persons banished, and either rebels or fugitives who are named in the articles. For the Pensioner thinks his Majesty may declare any of his subjects rebels or fugitives; and such a declaration is enough (being signified to the States) to ground the demand now made. But when a Prince or State banisheth any man, they thereby declare him to be a subject no longer; and have not afterwards power to declare him rebel or fugitive, especially if he have offered himself to the law; as two of these men, he said, did, and did not fly their country, but by sentence were forced to do it. But the issue of this matter I must refer to our conference; as likewise that of the *Dort* Company, and the ships *Thomas* and *John* which were recommended in your last to my care.

When these discourses had passed, the Pensioner asked me, whether I had brought them the peace from *Nimeguen*? and I replied, since he was so ignorant of what had passed there, I would tell him; that they had carried their matters there *en habiles gens*: that to bring their allies to the congress, they had pretended to treat by the first of *November*, whether they came or

no: that after the day they had found fault with the powers; offered at new; made the Mediators course from the one to the other; spun out two months time in these paces, and thereby were gotten in sight of both *Spanish* and *Imperial* Ministers, which, I supposed, was the thing they always intended.

He answered me, with something in his face both serious and sad; that either I did not know the course of their affairs here, since I left the *Hague*, or else I would not seem to know them: that they desired the peace from their hearts, and not only so, but thought it absolutely necessary: that they would certainly have entered into the treaty, if the *French* had either brought powers in form to be admitted, or obliged themselves to procure new ones. I said, I believed him, and that they could have found no better way to bring their allies to the congress.

He replied, *Je vous diray donc encore, que nous n'insisterons pas sur une paix selon les pretensions de nos allies, & ne vous réponds pas que nous ne la ferons même séparée.* I said, it was at least a matter of that moment, that, I believed, they would think of it before they did it.

With this, he drew his chair up closer to me, and begun, with great earnestness, a very long discourse upon this whole matter; saying first, That they had thought enough of it already; and for his part, he was grown, by thinking much, to conclude it was without remedy: that they had great obligations to *Spain*, for entering into the war to save this country; but therein to save *Flanders* too: but they had made no ill return by continuing the war now three years only for the interests of *Spain*; since there remained nothing of consequence between *France* and them: that they had, besides, engaged to carry it on this following year, with the same number of forces they did the last; and so they would, if their allies had performed their parts; but for *Spain*, they took no care, but only to let them see they were resolved to perish: that
they

they sent their fleets home from *Sicily* without any of the payments agreed for, and left them to be paid by the States here at their arrival. That not a penny could be got of 300000 guilders they owed them for carriages and provisions the last campaign, and which was designed for their magazines in *Flanders* against the next: that they had represented to *Spain* the absolute necessity of keeping so many forces in *Flanders* as would defend their towns, while the Prince took the field; which he was content to do with the army of this State; but not a word of answer: that they had then desired *Spain* to receive so many of the forces of their allies, as might serve to defend their places; but, instead of this, they drove them out of their country. That, for the Emperor, they had always told him, unless his army would march into *France*, or give a battle, *Flanders* could not be defended last year, nor this next, unless his forces took up their winter quarters in *Alsatia*, or that side of the *Rhine*: but at *Vienna*, they considered *Flanders* as much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary*: and because the Imperial Officers could make greater advantages of winter quarters in *Germany*, than in such a harassed country as *Alsatia*, their armies must return this winter, and thereby lose all the advantages that might have been made of the last campaign: that for want of magazines in *Flanders*, two or three of the best frontier towns would be lost next year before the Imperialists could possibly take the field; and if *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, and *Mons* were gone, all the rest would certainly revolt; considering the miseries they had already suffered, and must still by a longer war: that either the Prince could not be soon enough in the field to prevent it, or else he would not be able to subsist for want of magazines, and the country's being like to be deserted and waste by this business of contributions unsettled; or else he would not be strong enough to venture a battle, or raise a siege; considering

ing how weak the *Spaniards* would be, how poorly their towns would be defended, and how strong *France* would come on that side into the field, while they had no enemy upon the *Rhine*: that the Prince's friends could never suffer him to go into the field, only to see towns taken under his nose, and, perhaps, the whole country lost, while he was expected to defend it, and rendered incapable of doing it by the faults of the *Spaniards*; who yet would lay it to his charge, and be the first to reproach him: which would be done likewise by his enemies at home, and ill-willers abroad; who would be glad of the occasion.

In the mean time, from *France* they could have whatever conditions they pretended, either as to the restoring of *Mastricht*, or the *reglement* of commerce, or the advantages of the Prince; and as to this last, all they could desire. That they had letters every week from the *Mareschal d'Estrades* upon this subject, and from other hands: and, for his own part, though he should fall into it with regret, yet he did not see what else was to be done; and he did not know one man in *Holland* that was not of the same mind.

This long discourse ended with saying, that he did not talk to me like an Ambassador, but a friend, and one whose opinion he esteemed: that he discovered to me *leur fort, & leur foible*; and would be glad to know what else I thought they could do *dans l'accablement de cet etat par une si longue guerre*, and all the circumstances that now attend it both from their friends and their enemies.

I gave him thanks for the confidence he expressed towards me; but desired to be excused for giving my counsel or opinion to a person who was so able to take measures for the State and for himself. But I desired to know what he reckoned would become of *Flanders* after this State had made a separate peace? he replied that it would be lost either in one summer or two; but,
more

more probably in one: for, he believed, the towns of *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, and *Mons*, might be taken in one campaign; or, if *Valenciennes* were only taken on that side, *Cambray* would be out of care, and must fall of itself: that after this, none of the great towns would offer at defending themselves, unless it were *Antwerp*; and for that, perhaps, some measures might be taken with *France*.

I asked him, how he reckoned this State was to live with *France*, after *Flanders* was wholly lost? and whether he thought it would not be perfectly at discretion?

He said, if they could hope to save *Flanders* by continuing the war, they would not think of a separate peace: but if they saw it must be lost by one as well as the other, they thought it best by the last: which would not only less exhaust the State, but be less dishonour to the Prince too: that after *Flanders* was lost, they would live so with *France*, that they should find it more for their profit to preserve this State, than to destroy it: that he knew very well, it was not a thing to be chosen; but they should be forced to it, as men are sometimes to desperate remedies: that they had long hoped some resource from better conduct in the *Spanish* affairs: that they had believed some impressions of the *German* army in *France* itself, might have brought the business à un accommodement raisonnable: that he, for his own part, had ever believed, *England* itself would cry *halt* at one step or other; and if they would be content to see half *Flanders* lost, yet they would not see it all; and the same of *Sicily*: that the King had the peace in his hands for these two years past, and might have made it when he pleased, and upon what conditions he thought fit: that for their parts, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had desired his Majesty to say whatever he would have in it, and that this State would endeavour it upon any terms his Majesty proposed; but that he could never get one word

of

of answer : that he had full power to make any sort of alliance with his Majesty that he desired ; but nothing of that neither. That he confessed it was true, *cuncta prius tentanda* ; but he found at length, it was *immediabile vulnus* : and he saw nothing left for them to do, but a separate peace : that he understood very well, what I meant by asking how they were to live with France after the loss of Flanders ; but he had cast up that too : that, first, *La visée de la France sera plutôt sur l'Allemagne ou sur l'Italie, que sur eux* : that, in the next place, he knew it would not be their interest to conquer or destroy this State, but could make better uses by preserving it in a dependence upon them : that the King had seen their country, and understood it so ; and had said upon all occasions since, that he had rather have them for his friends, than his subjects : that for their religion, which he had as much at heart as any man, he did not fear any thing in that from France neither ; that the King was not *si coiffé de sa religion*, as thereby to loss any interests of his State ; and he knew very well, that any force or change in religion here, would quickly destroy the trade ; and thereby the sea forces of this country, which he might make better use of, than if it were left *un grand marécage*. But at last, if their State must fall in four and twenty hours, it were better for them to defer it to the last ; and that it should happen at night, rather than at noon.

All this was discoursed with so much earnestness, that I was affraid it had done him hurt ; and, indeed, it left him not in condition or breath, to go on with a longer conversation. And so, having said, it was not a matter to be resolved between us two ; and that I wished him health enough to go through the thoughts and business of so great a conjuncture, I left him.

The next morning I went to the Prince ; and after some common talk, I told him, I had seen the Pensioner, and asked, whether his Highness knew what discourse

discourse had passed between us? he said, no, he had not seen him since; and asked me, what it was? I repeated several heads of it, and said, it all concluded in the necessity of this State's making a separate peace; and that he said, there was not one man in *Holland* against it. The Prince interrupted me, and said, yes, I am sure, I know one, and that is myself; and I will hinder it as long as I can: but if any thing should happen to me, they will do it in two days time. I asked his Highness, whether he was of the Pensioner's opinion in what was likely to happen next year in *Flanders*? He said, the appearances were ill; but campaigns did not always end as they began: that some accidents might happen, which no man could foresee, and if a battle should be given, none could answer for the event. After this, and two or three little things he said about our indifference in what became either of the peace, or of *Flanders*; his Highness rose up, as if he did not care for going on farther with the discourse; and so broke it off.

I have been very exact in the account of all these passages, the introductions to them, and often the very words (which I have marked) because I believe them the true representations of the present dispositions here in this matter of a separate peace. That is, the people in general, the towns, the States, are all bent upon it, from an extreme dislike of their allies conduct, both in the treaty and the war. But the Prince alone, upon whose honour the allies have wholly relied in all their negotiations with this State, is not yet able to digest it; and being equally apprehensive of the dishonour may befall him, either by separating from his allies by a peace, or pursuing the war in conjunction with *Spain* (whose weakness and ill conduct will make the faults, of which he must, in common opinion, bear the blame.) He is certainly at this time, most extremely desirous of a general peace, and will not
only

only go into it, in such ways as his Majesty shall think the most expedient; but will take it the kindest in the world, if his Majesty should think fit to use his offices with *France*, so as to bring it about with honour to his Highness, in some moderate satisfaction to his allies.

If his Majesty interposeth no further than by the bare and formal offices of his mediation at the place of treaty, and the *Austrians* hold off, as they have hitherto done; I suppose the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* will fall into separate, and, perhaps, private negotiations of the differences between them; which, I guess (from the dispositions I can observe on both sides) will be very soon and easily adjusted: and then the *Dutch* will be ready to clap up a separate peace in two days time, whenever they grow more out of patience at the slowness and unsincereness of their allies in the general treaty; or more apprehensive of dishonour and ill success, in the war; or when these or any other circumstances shall bring the Prince to fall into the same opinion with the States upon this matter.

Monsieur *Colbert* hath in many and particular discourses, besides others from the Mareschal d' *Estrades*, told me so much of their desires to enter into this matter of separate negotiations and measures with the Prince and this State; of the easiness they should find in points of commerce, and advantages his Highness should receive by it to himself, both in the treaty, and in the course of the King their Master's friendship hereafter; that, I suppose, there can occur no difficulty of that side, whenever it grows full ripe on this. And therefore, I presume, the knowledge of all these circumstances would be necessary for his Majesty's information, in so great and so nice a conjuncture; and more particularly so, for his instructions to us, as to our conduct at *Nimeguen*, whenever we meet with such motions there, as are likely to arise from such dispositions here.

298 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

I beg your pardon for so long a trouble, and one word, if you please, of the inclosed by last post from hence being delivered to his Majesty, and your belief of my being always,

S I R,

Your most faithful,

bumble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

S I R,

Hague, January 8. N. S. 1677.

I Am to acknowledge the honour of one from you of the 5th past, since which time I found it necessary for me to make a turn hither; both from a letter of the Prince which desired it, and some business relating to this embassy that required a dispatch; and, also, that, in such a conjuncture, I might be perfectly informed how the game was like to play; which could be known no where but here, nor, indeed, by other hands than those I deal with; which are the Prince and the Pensioner. You will have known from my dispatch last ordinary, all I am like to know upon the subject of a general or separate peace; and I find by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins's* letter this day to me, that he is fallen upon the scent of this last at *Nimeguen*, since I came away; and likewise, that he has received some letters from Court since I left him; which looks as if you had apprehended it there already, and given some orders in a late letter about our conduct in the case, by way of protestation which he seems much in pain about, and desires my help in, without having sent me any copy of Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* letter upon that subject; so that I can make no judgment at all of the thing, how it is given us in charge. But if it should be, as I apprehend by his letter that in case we find a separate peace between *France* and *Holland*, concluding

ding or concluded at *Nimeguen*, without our communication, we should protest publicly against it in his Majesty's name. I do not well understand to what purpose such a thing can be intended. If we dislike the thing, and it appear to sanguine men at Court, as dangerous as to melancholy men in the country, we may endeavour to prevent it; but if it be once concluded, our protestations can, in my opinion, serve only to irritate the parties, and bind them faster together by the apprehension of our being angry at them both, and at their conjunction. Nor can I well see, either what ground such a protestation can have, any more than what effect. For the parties have not obliged themselves to his Majesty upon his mediation of a general peace, either that they will not treat without his mediation, nor separately; or, if they had, the same interests that force them to break through so many obligations to their allies would make them as bold with those to a mediator. Besides, I observed in Monsieur *Colbert's* exceptions to our form of powers, he said, there was one essential default in the very dispositive; which was, the omission of that clause, that they might treat with the adverse Ministers, either with or without the intervention of the mediators: and so we may certainly reckon they will do, when interest leads them to it.

I am forced to trouble you with this discourse, having received this letter from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* since I closed mine this night to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*. I know not whether what I have said be at all to the purpose, because it is very likely I may have misapprehended the late instructions sent us over, which are mentioned very short in my colleague's letter to me. Besides, I am the apter to think I may be mistaken; because, I remember, upon our desiring instructions two months since, how to conduct ourselves in case of separate treaties, we had no answer given us upon it.

And

And I will tell you, that not only the allies are of opinion, that we would promote it; but the Prince himself seems to believe, we would be glad of it; though I assure him, all our instructions run quite contrary, and impower us only to perform our offices towards the general peace.

I am ever, with the esteem and truth that become me,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, January 8. N.S. 1677.

UPON the incident of a letter just now from my colleague Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, concerning some instructions he had received since I left him, in relation to a separate peace, I thought it necessary to write the inclosed to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, having already closed my packet to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*; and our instructions commanding us to correspond with the the Secretaries of State; so as all advices of importance are necessarily addressed to one of them for our discharge.

However, I thought what I had written fit to be presented to your Lordship as early as I could, in hopes you will give your hand towards our full instructions in his Majesty's mind upon this matter. For my part, if I apprehend right what Sir *Lionell Jenkins* writes to me about a protestation, I cannot understand the drift of such a counsel, nor why one should be angry, when one hurts no-body but one's self. To prevent the thing may be a wise and necessary counsel, and in which his Majesty's meaning ought to have been signified early, where it was likely to be of moment to that

that end; but if the thing should be done, I cannot imagine either how to ground our offence, or seek our revenge, and it would be to stay till we are struck, and then trust to crying out. Whereas, for ought I know, it were better to anger either of the parties before a separate peace, than both of them afterwards; and if we must strain any points of courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general peace, than by complaining and protesting against a separate one.

I beg your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, and your justice in believing me ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R, *Hague, January 12. N.S. 1677.*

I Have received the honour of yours of the 26th past, with a copy of another of the same date to the Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*; for which I humbly thank you. As to what concerns the points depending here, I can add little more than what I writ last; but that I have received assurance that the States will give sudden order for the returning of the money, and security given the Master of the *Thomas* and *John* taken by a Dutch man of war from a *Dunkirk* caper: and this they will do upon the assurance I gave them (from his Majesty's letters) of the like procedure on our side towards them in like cases.

All I have left, is, the affair of the three *Scots* Ministers, which must be brought to a conference; and that the Pensioner's illness will not yet suffer him to assist at, since it must be at my house, and he has not yet stirred abroad, but is something better to day, so as to give me hopes it may be to-morrow, or *Thursday*; if not,

not, I will have it on *Friday* without him, and drive it as far as it will go. His illness begins to be apprehended by many, being a continual, though slow fever, and would extremely disconcert the measures of this State, if any thing of ill should happen to him. Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, who has absented himself from his post here for near three months, upon the shame of appearing without money for the fleet from *Sicily*, and that to *Denmark* last year; and the want whereof would have endangered some trouble at *Amsterdam*, if the ships from *Sicily* had been able to come in before the frost; writes now word from *Brussels*, that he is preparing to come away immediately; and that he shall do it with less regret and shame, being possessed of the money due, *por el Mediterraneo, y el Baltico, y sin Gasconado*; which are the words of his letter, and have so much credit with the Prince and the States, that they take it for a thing done; and it was high time. The Prince tells me, he thinks the remises come by last ordinary to *Brussels* are of two millions and a half of crowns, but that more is expected.

The *Danish* Minister presses very much for money, ships, and men here; but I believe they will go hard from this State; who pretend the *Danes* may content themselves with their new conquests, and the *Spanish* subsidies, towards carrying on the war. I know not whether they reckon well: for, however the last action in *Schonen* passed, or however it be told, I look upon it as very advantageous to the *Swedes*; not only by gaining their point in the relief of *Malmoe*, but also by being left Masters of the field in that Province. And though the loss may have been equal on both sides; or, perhaps, greater on the *Swedes*, yet I take that Crown to have much greater resources than *Denmark*, both in bodies of men of their own natives, and in the moneys from *France*; whereas *Denmark*, will find

find very hard to repair the loss of their foot in this battle, without levies from *Germany*, which will cost more money than they can well furnish, without the subsidies agreed, both from this State and *Spain*.

I intend to get away from hence as soon as possibly I can, upon the pressing instances made me from my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, as well as from Monsieur *Colbert* and *Beverning*; but, chiefly, from the great embarrass that you will find fallen upon the business of the assembly, by the irregular demarches of Count *Kinski*; whereof I have been this day acquainted, by a copy of the joint letter that goes to you with this ordinary; which, if they proceed one pace farther, as it seems, he intends, must of necessity break all communication between the *Imperial* and *French* Ambassadors, and, consequently, give a stop to the progress of any general treaty. Sir *Lionell Jenkins* presses me so earnestly to give him my advice, by to-morrow's packet, what to do, in case they receive a second and more formal notification from Count *Kinski*, of his arrival, in order to a second visit of ceremony, that I cannot avoid giving my opinion upon it: since the case is like to happen before he can receive directions from you.

I think they are to use all endeavours possible to divert Count *Kinski* from this resolution: first, because it is contrary to the stile hitherto used by all Ambassadors in the congress. Secondly, because our visiting the Count a second time in form, will be to give him a new honour, which has not been pretended by, or given to, any other Ambassador. Thirdly, because upon this practice the *French* will certainly make him no visit, as receiving from him but half the honour which he will have done, not only to the mediators, but to the Ambassadors of all the allies, by two formal notifications. Fourthly, because the Mediators have already declared to him, as well as to the *French*, their own opinion in the case; and if any thing at all be allowed to a Mediator, it is regulating such matters of form,

form as these. My last reason concerns the honour of the mediation, and so must be private among us; which is, that a preference has been declaredly given to the Mediators by Count *Kinski*, in the first notification, which, it seems, is not like to be taken care of in the second.

To gain this point of Count *Kinski*, it will be, perhaps, necessary to employ the offices of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, as well as the foregoing reasons; and, possibly, to tell him one of greater weight than all the rest; which is, that if the Ministers of *Austria* retard the progress of the assembly, by any of these motions, contrary to the usual stile and form, it will be interpreted as a new and effected delay; and the end of that will be, to drive the *Dutch* into private negotiations, or separate treaties; whereas the only way to keep them close to a general peace, were, for the *Austrians* to express all facility towards it that others have done, at least in the formal, and preliminary parts of it.

If by all these reasons and persuasions, Count *Kinski* will not be prevailed with, I think the Mediators ought to tell him plainly, that in case of a second notification, they cannot take notice of it, or make him a second visit in form, without first receiving his Majesty's orders, and so attend your positive directions, upon the account given you by this ordinary.

In case Count *Kinski* will be prevailed with to content himself with the first notifications and visits made him upon them; then, I suppose, the *French* and *Swedes* may be appeased upon receiving their notifications so late; since Count *Kinski* pretends to have yet notified none but the Mediators, and to have received visits from the rest without notifications.

For my part I see no other way out of this wood; and if by Count *Kinski's* obstinacy, it must come to his Majesty, I know not well what in that case can be done, but to stick close to the stile already used in

the assembly; where no first visits have been distinguished by *cognito* or *incognito*. Since a change made by his Majesty in this practice, will not only break all correspondence, or visits, between the *Imperialists* and *French*; but will give an offence from his Majesty to the *French*, by giving a point more to the Emperor than to their King; whereas they pretend to yield only place to him, but no distinction of rank.

I thought fit to trouble you with my thoughts upon this occasion, as well as to transmit them to my colleague at *Nimeguen*: in regard they may possibly serve to give his Majesty some little light, before the resolution be taken in it. And I will presume to add one consideration more, upon the other embarrass already fallen out, between us and the *Brandenburg* Ambassadors, wherein it seems, his Majesty has not yet interposed his judgment: the allegations on either side are so blank contrary one to another, that it is difficult to determine them; though the testimony of Monsieur *Courtin*, *Oxenstiern*, and *Colbert*, in what they have themselves practised, or seen practised so often, seems not easily to be scrupled. But the great strength of the *Brandenburg* pretension will be the late resolution of the Emperor, dated, as I remember, *November 25*, last past, in the practice intended thereupon in their favour by the *Imperial* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon, possibly, by the *Spanish* too. Now this new concession of the Emperor seems on one side, to weaken the *Brandenburg* allegations as to former practice (in which case there would be no need of this new resolution:) but on the other side, it seems to induce other Kings to give them what the Emperor does, to whom they yield in point of place.

This only is to be considered, whether other Kings will take themselves to be obliged by the Emperor's stile to *German* Princes; since he may have an interest in doing it, toward the decision of what remains in

question between him and other Kings. For, though the Emperor pretends to be in rank above other crowned heads in *Christendom*; yet, as I take it, the other Kings consider him only as the first of Kings, but not as of a rank above them. But if the Emperor can procure, by his example, the Electors to be treated equally, in all points, with the crowned heads, it will be an advantage to his pretensions, since there is certainly a difference of rank between him and his Electors. In case *Spain* gives it, by the Emperors example, and from considerations of their present confederacy, both with the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*; the inducements will then be stronger for his Majesty to do it; and the question remaining will only be, whether his Majesty should do it, without assurance that *France* and *Sweden* will do it too? For since his Majesty has already declared the stile he intended the Electors, and grounded it upon the precedents of *Munster*, and other late assemblies; if he should change his stile, upon the example of the Emperor and *Spain* alone, it may seem a partiality to the opinion and practice of those two Crowns, and against those of *France* and *Sweden*: whereas, his Majesty, as Mediator, may be allowed not to change his own stile, but upon a change or consent of all the other crowned heads.

But the determination of these matters must be given us by your orders from his Majesty to us, and our parts are no other but offering the small lights we can towards his Majesty's better information in these cases.

Monsieur Colbert sends me word, that they have received their own *pleinpouvoirs*, and in such a form, *que Monsieur Beverning avouë luy même qu'il a tout ce qu'il demandoit*: which I take notice of, as something that has passed between them without the communication of my colleague at *Nimeguen*, for as much as I observe by their dispatch. And I doubt not but the de-

lays of the allies will hasten Monsieur *Beverning*, one way or other, to enter the sooner and deeper into the business, as far as lies particularly between *France* and them.

I took notice in the duplicate of the last letter to the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, of his Majesty's pleasure concerning Mr. *Hyde*, whom I have not yet seen; his arrival happening at *Nimeguen* several days after I left it. But I have given order for the offering him all the convenience of my house or equipage, during his stay there; and was surpris'd with the news, by this day's letters, of his having already left *Nimeguen* upon his way hither, where I am now like to see him first.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Ambassador Jenkins.

My Lord,

Hague, January 13. N. S. 1677.

I Was sorry to find by your Lordship's yesterday, how great an embarrass Count *Kinski* is like to bring upon you there, by a proceeding which I take to be very contrary to all form and stile used among Ambassadors, either in the present congress, or any other place. By what I can guess from the exact account given of it in your joint letter, I judge, that in case he persists to give the second notifications, in order to second visits of ceremony, it must necessarily break off all communication between him and the *French* Ambassadors, and thereby wholly obstruct the fair and easy progress of this assembly. Therefore in my opinion, your Lordship ought to use all possible endeavours to divert him from this resolution; and to this purpose,

purpose, very many arguments will easily occur to you: as first, that it is contrary to all stile; because if he intended his first interviews *incognito*, he ought either to have come himself frankly to such Ambassadors as he had a mind to see, or receive such visits as were made him in the same manner, without any notification: for any formal notification, signifieth plainly, that he is not *incognito*, but owneth a character of Ambassador, in right whereof such notifications are always given. Secondly, if your Lordship makes him another visit in form, you give him a double honour in respect of what you have given any other Ambassador; which is a thing they will all resent. Thirdly, if this happens, the *French* will certainly not visit him; because he will have given two notifications to other Ambassadors, and but one to them, which makes them plainly go less than the rest. Fourthly, it is a lessening likewise to the other Ambassadors, who have visited him upon his first notifications; since he hath engaged them to make them a visit in form, and pretends for it to have returned them only a visit *incognito*, wherein there is no equality. Fifthly, the Mediators have already declared their opinion both to him, and to the *French* Ambassadors: and if any thing be allowed them as Mediators, it will be certainly the liberty of directing or adjudging such points of form as these are, whenever they think fit to declare their opinion.

If these arguments will not prevail with the Count *Kinski*, I think you may use one more of greater weight (but as in confidence to him;) which is, that these kind of paces, contrary to usual form, will be interpreted as new and affected delays; and that the effect of them will be to drive the *Dutch* into separate negotiations and treaties; whereas his Majesty's intentions aim wholly at a general peace. But the *Dutch* seem resolved not to go on with the war, unless they can *mettre la France dans son tort*: and upon this he may

may be brought to advise with the *Dutch* Ambassadors : and they on the t'other side may be persuaded to employ their offices to divert him from his present resolution. In case all these prevail not, your Lordship, I think, may plainly tell him, that you cannot make him a second visit in form upon his second notification, without first receiving his Majesty's orders, which thereupon, I suppose, you will attend, in answer to the letter that went by last post.

In case Count *Kinski* be content the first visits already made, should pass for those of form, and thereupon will send his notifications to the *French* and *Swedish* Ambassadors ; I suppose, you may easily prevail with the *French* to receive them, and make their visits upon them before Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* appears : in regard Count *Kinski* declareth, that he hath yet notified none but the Mediators ; and that the ground of his not doing the same to the *French* before, seemed only his doubt, whether upon it they would visit him, or no.

This is all I can say upon this subject, and should not have said any thing at this distance, and to your Lordship, who are so well able to judge yourself upon all these emergencies, but that you are pleased to engage me to it by your letter : and I cannot make a difficulty upon what you so earnestly desire of me, in this or any other kind ; being ever, with so much esteem and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

humble servant,

To

310 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

To the KING.

Hague, January 15. N. S. 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

I know no better acknowledgments I can make your Majesty for so great an honour as I received last night by a letter from your own hand, than in the best obedience I can yield to the commands it brought me; especially that of giving your Majesty, with all speed an account of what conclusions the Prince should fall into upon the subject of it. I have already had two audiences from his Highness, upon this occasion, and discoursed over the whole thing with the best advantage I could, to what your Majesty proposes to yourself, and to the Prince, with so great reason, in the course of this affair. I shall not trouble your Majesty with the particulars of these conversations, but give you as short and as close as I can, his Highness's last answer and conclusion upon them; which is this, and to which he told me he would refer himself in the letter he intends this night to your Majesty.

His Highness says, that this being the first time your Majesty has pleased to tell him plainly the conduct you would have him hold in the course of this affair; he is resolved to let your Majesty see how great esteem he makes of this confidence, by the most perfect compliance with what your Majesty proposes as the first step to be made in it; and by falling in with your Majesty in the concert of the rest, as far as he can possibly, whenever he shall know more of your mind; that their Ambassador shall receive orders to give in a memorial to your Majesty in their Master's name, desiring and pressing the continuance and enforcement of your Majesty's offices towards a general peace; and chiefly upon this ground, that they apprehend the loss of *Flanders* without it; and that his Highness will so concert

concert it here, that this shall be in such terms as will reach your Majesty's end, and shall be left for you to make what public use of it you think fit: that, because this cannot be prepared before the next post, his Highness will this night put into my hands a letter, signed by himself and the Pensioner, to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, giving him order to apply all his discourses in common and particular conversations, to the same end; and even to receive instructions from your Majesty in what manner and terms, in what places, and to what person chiefly to apply them. That this letter being not to be communicated so much as to the Commissioners of secret affairs here, shall be inclosed by me to your Majesty's own hands, to use as you please; to give it privately yourself, or cause it to be delivered by any other hand, and at such time as you think fit: and his Highness questions not Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* governing himself in this affair intirely to your Majesty's satisfaction: that for the Ministers of their allies, he cannot answer for them, because he knows very well, they have not a mind to the peace, as his Highness and this State have. That it will be hard to make them say what they do not think of *Flanders* being lost without the peace: but that he knows Don *Emanuel de Lyra* to be so reasonable a man, that his Highness hopes to bring him to your opinion: that this conduct is fittest for their Ministers in *England*, and to prevail with him to write effectually to Don *Bernardo* upon it: and to this end the Prince told me, he would write to Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, that it would be absolutely necessary for him to come immediately hither; and that at his arrival, he would use his utmost offices, to dispose him to it.

In all these paces, his Highness thinks he goes to the utmost length your Majesty can desire; and indeed, I could not think of any more to propose. But, after all, he said, he could not engage to go farther in the
endeavours

endeavours of effecting the peace, till he knew upon what terms your Majesty intended it; for, there are some that may be supported, and others that cannot; and such as these they will venture *le tout pour le tout*, rather than agree to them. And therefore, it would be necessary to know your Majesty's mind as soon as was possible.

I told his Highness, I would represent this to your Majesty; but desired him to consider, that there might very well be three weeks or a month's time between your Majesty's knowing his mind first, and telling him your own upon it: or his Highness's knowing your Majesty's first, and then telling you his upon it, and expecting afterwards a return from your Majesty. His Highness made a pause at this and other arguments I used towards prevailing with him to explain himself first; especially that of my believing your Majesty would be more pleased with it, and take it as a piece of more confidence from him. And having thought a while, he answered; that to shew your Majesty how frankly he would deal with you, and with how much confidence he desired to live in all that passed between you, he would not make a difficulty of explaining himself first, though he might have reasons to do it: that if your Majesty had a mind to make a peace, he thought you must do it upon the foot of *Aix la Chapelle*; which you would have the more ground for, because you had both made and warranted it: that for exchanges, he thought there should be no other proposed upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, for *Aire* and *St. Omers*; which two last, he thought, imported a great deal more than the others; unless *France* would declare, that they ended this war with a prospect of beginning another, by which they may get the rest of *Flanders*: that this is all need pass between *France* and *Spain*; and for what concerns the Emperor and this State; that the Emperor having taken *Philipsburgh* from

from the *French*, should raze it; and the *French* having taken *Mastricht* from this State, should raze that too. And so this whole war should pass, *comme un tourbillon qui avoit enfin cessé, apres avoir menacé beaucoup, & fait fort peu de remuements au monde.*

He said, for any other interests that might be involved in this war, it would not be necessary now to say any thing of them: for, if thus far were agreed on, the rest must follow one way or other: that the Emperor and *Spain* had proposed other schemes to themselves by the war and therefore desired the continuance of it, and would fall hardly into this; but if your Majesty did, he would, for his part, do his utmost to effect it, in concert with you, he hoped with them: and, however, desired to know, what you thought fit to be changed in this scheme he had drawn of it.

I observed two things to his Highness upon it; *First*, that by it the county of *Burgundy* would be restored to *Spain*; with which condition, your Majesty was absolutely of opinion, when I last attended you, that *France* would not hear of a peace; and, I thought, nothing had since passed in the war to make you believe it less. *Secondly*, that after so many conquests made, and so many expected by *France* at this time, it would be very hard to believe, they could be brought to restore such acquisitions as they were possessed of, so very considerable, and without any equivalent. He answered to the first, that *Burgundy* could not be left in the *French* hands, without restitution of several other towns in *Flanders*; upon which so many debates would arise, as must, of necessity, draw the business into great lengths, and leave all to the decision of another campaign. But if your Majesty persisted in your former opinion upon that matter, there was no way but finding out what was proposed by *France*, as the equivalent of *Burgundy* upon the treaty of *Aix*, and regulate it accordingly.

From the second, he said, I had reason, and he did not believe *France* would do it at this time upon other motives, than those of your Majesty's interposition. But if they would not consent to these terms, or some others near them, that your Majesty should think fit to propose, the war must go on, and God Almighty must decide it: that all the allies, beside this State, desired nothing else; and the *Spaniards* believed, if Don *John* came to the head of their affairs, as he might very well be by this time, it would be a new world with them: and, the truth was, that Crown had great resources, how ill use soever they made of them: that one good town well defended, or one battle well fought, would change the business; that, for his own part, he would give in, all that could be, with his Majesty, to bring about a general peace, upon very moderate terms: but, if *France* would make them insupportable, they would venture all rather than receive them: and if they hoped the ill conduct or ill fortunes of their allies, would bring this State to make a separate peace; let the Pensioner, or any else, tell me what they pleased, they should never do it whilst he was alive: and he would say one thing further to me, that he had it in his power to hinder it. That, if he died, he knew very well, it would be made next day: but he did not trouble himself how the world was like to go when he was gone out of it; and, perhaps, we were the persons most concerned to look after that.

This was the end of his Highness's discourse; and the last part of it was spoke with a good deal of emotion: with which he rose up; and I promised to represent the whole to your Majesty in the truest lines and colours I could possibly (as I have done here); and he told me, he would come to me before this post went away, and put the two letters he promised into my hands. I

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 315

I most humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for a trouble which should not have been so long, if it had not been necessary; and that you will please to accept that true and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, January 15. N. S. 1677.

LAst night I received the honour of yours of the 29th past, with two from his Majesty, one to the States, and the other to me; the acknowledgment whereof by this inclosed, I humbly desire you will please to present to his Majesty's own hands, with the first opportunity. For that to the States concerning the three *Scotsmen*, I intend to deliver it to-morrow, and have deferred till then the conference I intended, this day upon it. The Pensioner is of a sudden restored, in a great measure, to his health by this thaw, and assured me to-day, that he will be to-morrow at the States, when his Majesty's letter shall be delivered; and at the conference I will, at the same time, demand for the afternoon. The business is very hard to make him comprehend in point of justice upon the treaty, and will be hard to digest by the province of *Holland*, in point of interest; being one of the great things which has peopled, and thereby raised, this country: I mean, the esteem in which it has passed, of being a refuge to men miserable at home, or persecuted by their own governments. But I will charge myself not to stir from hence, without an answer to his Majesty upon this matter, and will not yet despair of such a one as he desires.

The

The great news here, but which is yet in few hands, is, what the last *Spanish* courier met (they say) upon the way, that Don *John*, at the head of most of the great nobility of *Spain*, was upon his way to *Madrid*, to desire both the Queen and the Marquis de *Valanzuela*, to retire from Court, and, consequently, to take possession of the absolute ministry there. Some say, the King himself is in it: others speak as if the Marquis were so too: but, I find, Don *Emanuel de Lyra* believes the thing, and that it will be decided in four and twenty hours, and one way or other give an establishment to their affairs.

Mr. *Hyde* came hither yesterday from *Rotterdam*, not knowing any thing of the orders given by his Majesty for his stay at *Nimeguen*. I shewed him a copy you had pleased to send me of your letter to the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, wherein was that paragraph concerned him. He seemed much surprised with it, and perplexed what to resolve, having not met it till he had over-shot the place where it was intended he should receive it. He parted this morning again for *Rotterdam*, to meet all the letters he expected there, but will return hither to-morrow; though I know not whether with resolutions of staying here, or returning to *Nimeguen*, till his commission and farther orders come: but of this I presume you will have a farther account from himself.

I humbly thank you for the duplicate of your last to *Nimeguen*; I can pretend to no share in the approbation you please to give us; but I am sure must have a great deal in any faults we made while I was there; and can only say, that I am ever very glad to hear of them, and shall be more so to mend them. For the offer of our form of powers in *French*, it was only a first draught, and offered but for the parties approbation or amendments; and being done at the desires of the *French* and *Dutch*, it was done in the language they both

both use in their powers: but when we shewed it the *Swedes*, we told them, if it were approved, we intended to offer it in *Latin*.

For the offer of his Majesty's contenting himself without mention of the mediation, we were very far from making any; and the farthest we went, was to say, when all the parties desired us to leave it out, we would give them our answer upon it. For the insinuation, that his Majesty would not stand upon that circumstance, if all the parties desired it; we were moved to it by the discourses we heard of among some of the Ministers, that the difficulties then on foot in the treaty, were raised by the Mediators more than the parties: but yet, what was said, was not till after both *Swedes* and *Danes* had told us, they would never desire that omission from us. If after this, they still were faults, I humbly beg his Majesty's pardon for my share of them, and desire your belief of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 19. N. S. 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

I Was forced to give your Majesty so large a trouble by the last ordinary, that I should not have the confidence to renew it so soon, but that I think it becomes me to let your Majesty know, that, upon the closure of my last, the Prince came to me, and shewed me the letter he had writ to Monsieur *Van Beuningben*, asking me, whether it would reach what your Majesty desired. I told his Highness, what indeed, I thought, that it was as full as could be wished, towards

wards the governing of his private conversation; but that your Majesty expected something that might be open too and above-board; which, I thought, could not be otherwise done than by a memorial from the Ambassador to your Majesty in his Master's name. The Prince said, that though the allies would take it ill, yet it should be done; and orders should be sent him to that purpose by the next. After this the Prince told me, he had writ to your Majesty, but not troubled you with the detail of what had passed between us, having referred your Majesty wholly to me in that point; and therefore he desired to see my letter; which he read, and said, it was not only what he said and meant, but all he could say, till he knew more of your Majesty's mind. In the mean time, that he looked upon this as the first pace of confidence between your Majesty and him: that he hoped it would go on from this time, and prove fortunate to you both. He said he should go to *Soesdyke* the latter end of this week, and spend most of this season between that and *Dieren*; at either of which places he should be in my reach to *Nimeguen*, upon any thing that should come to me from your Majesty, and be necessary for him to know, and to take his measures upon with me. I believe one reason more is, that our commerce there may pass with less noise than this here has done; which has given his allies so great alarms of my being here, to negotiate a separate treaty with his Highness, that he would be glad to be out of the way, and avoid their expostulations upon a matter wherein, tho' he does them no wrong, yet he makes them not of his confidence, as he has hitherto done; and is so hardened against those delicacies he used to have in that point, that upon the Emperor's Minister entering very deep with him yesterday upon the occasion of my being here, he contented himself only to tell him, that he had yet heard nothing of a separate peace; but such a conduct

as

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 319

as that of the Emperor's has been these two last years, might put this State upon desperate councils: and if *Flanders* must be lost, it was but what the Emperor seemed to intend; and that if he the Resident pleased, he might write to *Vienna* what answer he the Prince had made him.

I will add only, that, as I doubt not your Majesty will have what helps his Highness can give you on this side towards effecting the peace; so I cannot imagine you should meet with any hindrances at home, after these instructions sent to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*; and after these two letters I wrote since my coming hither, to the two Secretaries of State, upon the appearances of a separate peace; which, I am confident, were enough to convince all men, that your Majesty cannot endeavour any thing at this time of more safety to your own Kingdoms, as well as glory abroad, than the sudden conclusion of a general one. I shall end this trouble with the sincere professions of that humble and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Majesty's &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 22. N. S. 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Prince desired me this morning to beg your Majesty's excuse for those orders I mentioned to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, being not yet gone; for putting in such a memorial to your Majesty, as might reach the end you desired. The delay has been occasioned by returns of the Pensioner's illness, and the extraordinary sessions of the States of *Holland*, but his Highness

Highness assures me, it will not fail of going by next post. He desired me at the same time, to tell your Majesty, that he has had reason given him to believe, *France* will be content to give *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, and *Courtray*, for *Aire* and *St. Omers*; so that he has been an ill negotiator in what he last proposed; but hopes your Majesty is so much a friend to the preservation of *Flanders*, as to manage it to the best advantage. I promised his Highness to say what he desired me to your Majesty, and in this manner to your own hand, as he particularly desired it might be. But I must observe one thing I gathered from the Pensioner upon this subject, which his Highness did not mention: among many overtures he has entertained me with from *France*, both general and particular to this State; he told me in a visit to-day, that *France* would be willing to give those four towns for two, in case *Sweden* might be restored to all they had lost. I asked him what was to become of *Burgundy*? and he said, to return to *Spain*, since the proposition was the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, with only that exchange; and that he had it from a good hand. I told both him, and afterwards the Prince, that I doubted it upon that point of *Burgundy*. The Prince is of opinion, that if *France* be obstinate in not restoring *Burgundy*, some temper might be found in leaving it neutral by agreement. The Prince goes to-morrow to *Soesdyke*, and I shall return, God willing, to *Nimeguen* the day after; his Highness having concerted upon any necessary communications from your Majesty, that I shall make a step thither or to *Dieren*, which will be done without much noise for a night or two. I have been forced, in my own justification, to give Mr. Secretary *Williamson* this night an account of some discourses of Monsieur *Colbert*, which I should not otherwise have mentioned. I hope your Majesty will think fit such matters be private as they were intended, since, at one time or other,

you

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 321

you may make use of that disposition in him and others to enter a little further into confidences with me than with other Ministers.

I am and shall be ever, with perfect devotion and truth,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, January 22. N. S. 1677.

THE unusual length of my conference with the States Deputies last *Thursday*, left me no time to give you an account of it that post: and a visit I received to day from the Pensioner, hath left me no occasion to trouble you with the particulars of so long and warm arguments as passed on both sides upon it. I will only say, that the business of the three *Scots* Ministers hath been the hardest piece of the negotiation that ever I yet entered upon here, both from the particular interests of the towns and province of *Holland*, and the general esteem they have, of *Mackaird* being a very quiet and pious man; but chiefly, from the firm persuasion they have, of not being obliged to it by any bare letter of his Majesty, without any sentence having passed against them, by which they are adjudged rebels or fugitives: and, on the contrary, after a sentence of banishment against *Mackaird* and *Brown*, which, they say, is by all writers esteemed wholly to extinguish their subjection, and, consequently, his Majesty's right of declaring them rebels, after they are banished, and become subjects to another state. And they say, his Majesty would have no reason to take notice of any letter from the States

VOL. IV.

S f

declaring

declaring any man a rebel, without a copy of the sentence pronounced against him to that purpose; the reciprocal whereof they expected likewise from his Majesty, upon these occasions. But I found the King's honour so far engaged in this matter, by three several letters which must have been public, that I have left no sort of arguments unessayed with the Prince, the Pensioner, and Deputies both of the provinces and towns to procure his Majesty's satisfaction, and make it pass for a thing so necessary to dispatch, that it hath taken up two long debates in the States of *Holland* these two days past, though their meeting was intended but for five days, and for no other business but the levies of monies necessary for the campaign; yet this morning the Pensioner came to give me hopes, that it might be effected this very day; and, at least, the assurance, that he would use his utmost endeavours in it; and that the dispatch should be made by a letter from the States to his Majesty, which should be put into my hands to go by this very ordinary; so that I will reckon upon it as a thing done, unless I see myself forced to close this packet without it. I inclose the States resolution about the ship *Thomas* and *John*, recommended by his Majesty's letter, with the assurance of the like dealing on his Majesty's side, in the like cases. For the Merchant-adventurers of *Dort*, not only the Pensioner, but all the Deputies, have renewed the former assurances given me of its receiving a final answer, next ordinary session of the States of *Holland*, which is to be in *February*. And for the ships taken upon pretence of trading from enemy's to enemy's port, the States have, upon my instances, written a second letter to the Admiralty of *Zealand*, to require their speedy answer; upon which the Deputies promised their endeavours to see justice done in that matter.

The Prince goeth early to morrow-morning to *Soesdyke*, where he intends to pass as much of this season

as the affairs here will give him leave : and in case I receive the satisfaction and letter for his Majesty, I expect this night, upon the affair of the three *Scotsmen*, I shall begin my journey towards *Nimeguen*, either to-morrow morning, or the day after ; finding nothing more that requires my presence here, and being much pressed to my return. In the mean time, having newly received yours of the 5th, I find a paragraph in it, which I think it will be necessary to answer by this dispatch, though I have not my letters here, to which I might have some occasion to refer.

You are pleased to say upon the subject of a separate peace, that his Majesty puts much weight upon what I said in mine of the 5th, of Monsieur *Colbert's* many and particular discourses to me, as well as the Marechal d' *Estrades*, of their desires to enter into this matter of separate negotiations and measures with the Prince and this State ; which are the words of my letter : and that you being called upon in the point, could not find any thing mentioned till now ; or, at least, not so as that I had found cause to make that important judgement I seemed, in mine of the 5th, to have made upon it ; which was, that I suppose there could occur no difficulty on that side, whenever it grows full ripe on the part of *Holland*.

I will confess in the first place, that if I never had met with the least motive for this supposition from any discourses of the *French* Ambassadors, yet I should have been of the same opinion ; and never yet met with any man that doubted it ; since the consequences of a separate peace between *France* and *Holland*, must be the loss of *Flanders*, and the dependence of this State upon *France* ; which are too great interests ever to be neglected by so wise a Crown. But I shall now tell you what farther reasons I had to believe it, from the discourses I mentioned of the *French* Ambassadors, since you are pleased to put me upon it ; and that which might

might before have passed for vanity to trouble you with, is now grown necessary for my own justification in what I writ to you upon this subject.

You may please to remember what I writ to you upon my first particular visits with those two Ambassadors, after my arrival at *Nimeguen*; the overtures, and, indeed, instances they made me apart, of entering into particular intelligences and negotiations with me, separately from my colleagues; and in order to close any particular measures that might be entered into between them and the Prince of *Orange*, by my intervention. You acknowledged my private letter to you upon that subject; and said, you had shewed it his Majesty, but gave me no sort of reflexion upon it, either from his Majesty or yourself, by which I might know whether it was fit for me, or no, to entertain or encourage any such commerce, distinct from my colleagues; and thereupon I took up the resolution to avoid it, and to continue the answers I had first made upon such overtures, of my having nothing at all, distinct from my colleagues, either in his Majesty's instructions, or (as they called it) his *Secret*; or any thing that would bear me out in any separate negotiations with the Prince; or any other steps than those of a general Mediator. Notwithstanding all this, Monsieur *Colbert* continued very particular applications to me of this kind, but with instances much more pressing, about the time of the Prince's return from the campaign; and especially in two very long and designed conversations, which he grounded upon letters he had received to that purpose from the King his Master. His discourses began with his most Christian Majesty's esteem of my being able to contribute more than any man to the peace; since it depended wholly upon the Prince of *Orange*, and I had more acquaintance, and (as he would have it) interest with his Highness, than any other Minister. That nothing could be done of so much service to the Prince,

as inducing him to enter into particular negotiations with the King his Master. That if they two could agree, the rest of the parties must fall into the measures they would take: the kindness the most Christian King ever had for the Prince's family, and esteem for his person: the easiness he would shew in all that concerned particularly the interests of his Highness and this State. And thereupon he pressed me, by all possible arguments, to undertake the bringing about this intelligence between his Master and the Prince. When I excused myself, upon our instructions being common to us all three, and empowering us only to offices of a general mediation: he told me, nothing else could make a general peace; and that it had never been made at *Munster*, but for the Duke of *Bavaria's* acting in the whole matter, by concert with *France*, under-hand; by which he received all the advantages he could propose to himself: and the Prince of *Orange* ought to play the same game in this present treaty, and would certainly meet with the same success. Nor was it once, or twice, or thrice only, that I have been entertained with these discourses; nor from themselves alone, but from some of my friends too upon their suggestions; which was enough to give me such a supposition as you mention, that there could be no difficulty on that side, if the thing should once grow to be ripe on this. However, I suffered them to pass as matters only of particular conversation, and not worth troubling you with; since it was like to have no effect, by my excusing myself always from entering into any such intelligences, without his Majesty's express command; and by my finding no appearances of the Prince of *Orange* giving into any such measures, though other ways have been made use of to give him the impressions, by a continual correspondence which Monsieur *d'Estrades* holds with persons here to that purpose. And I suppose you have reason to think I was not deceived; both by what I told you the
Prince

Prince said to me upon the subject of a separate peace, the day after that long discourse upon it with the Pensioner; and likewise by what his Highness said to me since, that it should never be while he lived; and that it was in his power to hinder it; which I then gave his Majesty an account of. And yet I am of opinion, that if, beyond all expectation, the last remises of money had not come from *Spain*; and that the *Mediterranean* as well as *Baltic* Fleets had come to be paid off, before any money had been paid by *Spain*, to the Admiralties here; the Prince would have found difficulties to carry on the war, without endangering a mutiny at *Amsterdam*. On the other side, I am very well persuaded to have given you, in mine of the 5th, the true scheme of what will be the procedure of this State in the treaty at *Nimeguen*: which is, to enter into the matter as soon as they can, to adjust the points that are particular between *France* and them; and after the proposal of satisfaction to their allies, to leave the management of that head to the allies themselves; and so appear, as to their own part, to be *bors d'affaires*, and thereby lie ready to take such measures as time and conjunctures shall suggest to them. But, as the Prince's firmness seems to secure this point while he lives; at least, if he be right in the calculation of his own power: so, I am of his Highness's opinion, that nothing can prevent it, if any thing should happen to his person. And that, on the other side, by all the dispositions I discover here, both in the Prince and States, his Majesty hath never yet found a more favourable conjuncture towards the effecting what he hath so long desired, and employed so much of his care in, as the happy mediation of a general peace; wherein I shall endeavour, at my return to *Nemiguen*, to pursue his Majesty's intentions, both upon our first instructions, and those we continually

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 327

continually receive from your hands, by his Majesty's command.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Arnheim, January 25. N. S. 1677.

I Had only leisure, in my last, to acknowledge the honour of two I had then received from your Lordship, but shall now answer the particulars of them; and give you as much light, and as little trouble by it, as I can. The offer his Majesty made the Prince, concerning an alliance after the peace, was received by his Highness, with all the satisfaction that could be; and he said, immediately, upon it, that he would send it to the Pensioner, to be communicated to some of the States, who, he was sure, would be as glad of it as he; and would take it as a sign of his Majesty's concerning himself not only in his Highness, but in the safety of this country: and that, for the condition his Majesty required, of no alliances in prejudice of it; he supposed his Majesty did not mean those they were already engaged in, and, he was sure, they would enter into no new ones, but in concert with his Majesty; in case he would bring them out of this war: upon which he desired me to acquaint him with his Majesty's thoughts. Thus far I had reason to believe, the advance made by his Majesty would not fail of having all the effects, your Lordship tells me, you then proposed to yourselves: but when I acquainted his Highness with the substance of Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* letter, after casting up, distinctly, what it amounted to, he said, he would

would die rather than make such a peace: and afterwards, that he would rather charge a thousand men with a hundred, though he were sure to die in the action; and several such desperate things as these. Afterwards he talked a great deal in colder blood; how lost he should be in honour, to his allies, and to all the world, by such a peace as this; and that the pressing them to it, would have the same effect as if he absolutely broke from them by a separate peace. I told him, that whilst he considered his own honour on one side, his Majesty must consider his on the other, if he should now make such propositions to *France* as his Highness desired, after having been their ally in the war, and being now a Mediator. The Prince answered me, that when I spoke of his Majesty's honour, I could mean it only in the esteem of *France*; for he believed every body else would think it more honour in the King, to make a reasonable peace, than to suffer *Flanders* to be lost: and thereupon he fell into a great deal of discourse, what the effects of that would be; and whenever it was, that this State must of necessity fall into an absolute dependence upon *France*, and could never think of defending itself by any alliance with *England*. That this country was not made to be the stage of a long war, by being wholly a place of trade, which would all die when the country came into that condition. And that, besides, being of small extent, the taking of one or two towns by *France* would bring them into the heart of all their provinces, I told his Highness, all that was true; but yet I knew him so well, as to believe he would venture it, rather than see this State grow a province to *France*, as must follow that which he called falling into a dependance upon them; and that I knew he was not made to serve. He said, perhaps, I was in the right; and yet, he believed, he should do some desperate thing or other, rather than come to it; but that would do us no good; and either with him,

or

or without him, the thing must come to that issue, if *Flanders* were once lost. I told him, I believed the the King was as unwilling to see that as his Highness; but asked, how his Majesty could propose such a peace to *France* as he desired, after such a war, as the allies had made for these two last campaigns, and with such appearances as were of the next, even in his own opinion, and by the Pensioner's discourses to me upon that subject? The Prince said very plainly, That I had reason; and that they could not hope for such from *France*, as things now stood, unless either his Majesty's kindness to him, or the interest of his own kingdom, would put him upon letting *France* know, that he desired it; and he was sure, if that were done they would come to easier terms than he (the Prince) had already proposed. If the King would not make the peace, he knew no remedy, but must try how the Emperor would make the war; and if he would do it as the State had proposed to him, and as they had it in their hands at *Vienna*, to do if they pleased; he might yet hope for a peace that way, since he could not do it this: that for his own part, he must go on, since he was in; *et quand on est à la grande messe on y est*; meaning, I suppose, one must stay till it was done, for there was no getting out.

I asked him, What I should say about his Majesty's offer of alliance? He said, he could make no answer till he had spoken with the Pensioner and the Commissioners of secret affairs; but he would say something of it in his letter to the King: but that was not the business now; it would be very well if the war were ended; and should leave this state in a condition to be defended: but they had now a disease upon them that they were dying of, and we told them what they should do when they were recovered. Thus he ended the discourse; and, to say truth, the most unsatisfied that ever I saw him in my life. And I have given your Lordship all the parti-

culars of this conversation, which I had omitted in the account I gave Mr. Secretary *Williamson*; contenting myself to give him the gross of it; being by his example, induced to write a good deal in cypher, when I had none with me that I thought fit to use in a business of this moment: and my own eyes will not go through with it: and therefore I am apt to trust to a conveyance, which, in near six years embassy in this country, never yet failed me once.

Your Lordship does me too great honour in desiring my opinion concerning the terms of a peace, as they now have passed between his Majesty and the Prince, wherein I cannot presume to mix any sense of my own. The Prince told me absolutely, he had gone as low as he could, in his first scheme I sent from the *Hague*: and by what his Majesty was pleased to discourse to me, with great freedom, when I was last in *England*, I am not apt to believe he will go much farther, than what he has already signified by Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* letter: so that I do not see any appearance of their falling into a concert upon this matter; which I am sorry for, upon particular reasons between his Majesty and the Prince, and upon general ones of the war, and consequences of it. For I am apt to believe *Flanders* in danger of being lost this summer, or in such a way to it, as not afterwards to be saved: and I doubt the Prince and Pensioner tell us the truth of this State falling into an absolute dependance upon *France* whenever that happens. Because I remember Monsieur *de Witt* told me the same thing very often, after our alliances with this State for the defence of it in 1668. And I know about three months before those were made, when the *Dutch* despaired of our entering into the defence of *Flanders* after the peace of *Breda*, they had so perfectly agreed the terms between them of dividing *Flanders*, that it was hindered only by the single dissent of the province of *Utrecht*. And the Pensioner

Pensioner in his discourses at the *Hague*, put me in mind of it, by saying, amongst other things they could have by a separate peace, that I could not tell whether they might not have *Antwerp* and *Ostende*, which, I remember, were part of the conditions in Monsieur de *Witt's* scheme. Upon the whole, considering how both his Majesty and the Prince stand tied in different points of honour upon this matter, I know nothing like to salve all, unless upon this resolution in *Spain*, that Court should be content to break their marriage with the Emperor's daughter, and endeavour it with Mademoiselle the Duke of *Orleans's* daughter; and *France*, in consideration of that marriage, should be content to part with some towns in *Flanders*, more than they would do upon a peace without a match; since this way it would be done, at least, with honour. I know not whether, in such an affair, his Majesty might not use both his last offices in *France*, and a personal interest that he has (as I take it) in Don *John*.

This, for ought I see, can be the only expedient between the two great difficulties in the peace; which are, that the affairs of *Spain* are so ill in *Flanders*, that the allies cannot think fit to make a peace upon the present foot, or any thing near it: and, on the other side, those of *France* are in so good, that it cannot be expected they should easily be prevailed with to restore much by a peace, when they are in so fair appearances of gaining still more by a war, at least, in *Flanders* and *Sicily*.

If ever a peace should be made, and leave *Flanders* in a condition of being defended, and the Prince alive; I do not think there can be any difficulty in taking those measures with this State, which his Majesty has offered, and in the manner he shall desire. As for that circumstance your Lordship mentions for me to endeavour the obtaining, especially having been
offered

offered before on this side; I take it to be a thing that must be established upon private and particular confidence between the King and the Prince, and not by any public or private treaties, considering the constitutions of this government. And this I remember to have said to his Majesty upon it, and he was pleased to be of the same mind.

Your Lordship will find in both our common letters of last post and this, an embarrass fallen out between us and the Count *Kinski*, about the communication of his powers to the *French*, before that of the *French* to him. We have made the best excuses we could; but to the thing itself, the truth is, it will not bear it; though he may, on the other side, be too rigid in the offence he takes, and satisfaction he expects. But there was a fault made, and it neither was the first, nor will it be the last; and it was forty to one a greater had not been made next day; and such, as I believe, would have broken all commerce between us and some of the Ambassadors here.

I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Arnheim, January 28. N. S. 1677.

MY last was of the 22d from the *Hague*; the next day being *Saturday*, I visited the Pensioner, upon my resolution of going out of town so soon as my letters then due should arrive, the Prince being gone to *Soesdyke* that morning. I told the Pensioner the orders his Majesty had given us at *Nimeguen*, to take off, upon occasion, the impression made there among the allies,

allies, of his Majesty's favouring a separate peace; and asked him, whether he thought it of service to the Prince, for me to say something of the same kind at the *Hague*, before I left it; the jealousy having been as great among the Ministers there, as at *Nimeguen*? He told me it was not worth my while, and that he was content they should believe it, since it was in their allies to help it, or not, as they pleased: that he had the day before told the Emperor's Minister, in plain terms, that if the conduct at *Vienna* continues what it had hitherto been; nay, if it did not fall absolutely into the measures the State insisted on, by the 13th of next month; this State would be forced to make a separate peace, and he was content the Emperor should know it. I told him, it might be a fit language to hold to the Emperor's Minister; but that I knew the Prince too well, to believe it: that he had told me, it should be never while he lived; and that he had it in his power to hinder it. The Pensioner replied, that he should come to it with as much regret as the Prince himself; but that his Highness might be forced to it by the ill conduct of his allies; and if not by that, by mutinies of the people here upon ill successes of this next campaign: that this late revolution in *Spain* had shewed what could be brought about by the violent humour of a people; and that his Highness knew this country too well, to go too far against it: that, in short, it would depend upon the Emperor and *Spain*; for if they took right and vigorous measures, they might yet hope for a good campaign; if they followed such as they had hitherto used, this State would be forced to a separate peace, unless a general one could be made before the action of this year began. This is all I remember material in his discourses; besides valuing what he had carried for his Majesty's satisfaction both in the States of *Holland*, and States-General, so much against the humour of both,

both, in the business of the *Scots* Ministers, for whose departures within the limited time, he said, orders had been already given.

On *Sunday* morning I received yours of *January* 9th, with the inclosed packet from his Majesty; upon which I immediately began my journey towards *Soesdyke*, where I arrived on *Monday* afternoon; but met there only a letter from the Prince, inviting me to come down to *Dieren*; his Highness having gone out that morning a hunting, with intention to lie there that night. On *Tuesday* night I came to *Arnheim*, and yesterday morning went to *Dieren*, where I found the Prince, and delivered both his Majesty's letters. Upon reading the first, he seemed extremely pleased, and said, it was all the assurance that could be given, and that he would send it that afternoon to the Pensioner, to be communicated to the committee of secret affairs, to whom he was confident, it would be the welcomest thing that could be; and yet he would give them notice of the secrecy required in it. I told his Highness, I hoped he observed the condition specified, of making no alliances in prejudice of this: he answered, that his Majesty could not mean those they had already: and for any new ones, he would undertake it, while his Majesty continued in this mind. After this he read the second letter, and said, it was only of credence to me in what I should say of his Majesty's mind about the conditions of the peace. I discoursed the whole over in the same manner and order, and, as near as I could, in the same terms wherein I was instructed; valuing the whole as such a scheme his Majesty thought possible to be obtained of *France*, rather than such as he thought to be wished, if the matter were whole, and the affairs of the allies in a better posture. I observed the Prince of *Orange* change countenance when I named *Cambray*, yet he heard me go through the whole scheme: and when he had done, he

said, that dinner staid, and that he would talk of it after he had dined: so we went up, but as he was near the door, he turned and said, tho' we should talk more of it after dinner, yet he could say, in few words, all that was to be said to it; which was, that he must rather die than make such a peace.

After dinner we fell again into the discourse. He asked me distinctly the particulars, and cast them up several ways what they would amount to, both as to the present state of things, and that upon which the war begun: as, that *Spain* must by it part with *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Air*, and *St. Omers*, instead of the five towns mentioned by his Majesty. He said I had spoiled his dinner; that he had been thinking it over while he should have eat; but, upon the whole, was of the same opinion he told me at first upon it; and that all must be ventured since he was in, and there was no other way out. I told him, I supposed he would give his Majesty his own thoughts upon it; but hoped he would think it over a little more, and in all its circumstances, before he did it: he replied, that he would write that very night to the King, and send me his letter next morning, so as it might go by this post: but that to save his Majesty trouble, he would refer him to me for particulars, and only touch some points in general. He then desired me to let his Majesty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me, upon this matter of his own thoughts, when he writ last to the King: that he had gone as low as he thought he could, with any regard to his allies, or the safety of this country: that he doubted whether *Spain* would ever have been brought to it: but if his Majesty would have fallen in, he would have used his utmost endeavours: but for this, he was certain they would not, though they were sure to lose all *Flanders* by the war; and that he would never propose it to them: that if *Holland* should make the peace upon these conditions,

it

it would be the same thing as to make it separate, and would have the same effects, by losing wholly their allies, and thereby casting their dependance absolutely upon *France*: for if *Spain* were left in this state, *Flanders* could be defended neither by *Holland*, nor by *England* itself, whenever *France* should think fit to invade it: that if *Flanders* were once lost, *Holland* could not possibly be defended by *England* against *France*; and they would be forced to take their measures with them, rather than be made the stage of the war: that hereby, what his Majesty was pleased to offer in his first letter, would come to have no effect: and that it depended upon the issue of the war, whether *Holland* would be left capable of being defended, or deserving the honour of such an alliance with his Majesty. He concluded, that what he said at first, was all that could be said from hence: that if his Majesty proceeded farther in this matter, it must be with *France*: and thereupon repeated what he had said several times before, that if his Majesty, either upon kindness to him (the Prince) or consideration of what his own crowns might be concerned in this affair, would help him out of this war by a general peace, upon any reasonable terms; there were no measures his Majesty should desire, which he would not fall into with all the readiness and satisfaction that could be: if his Majesty would not concern himself so far in it, he must leave it to God Almighty to decide it as he pleased. I desired the Prince to think again, before he writ to his Majesty; but he said, he would certainly write to night; and that all he could think of any business, was thought in an hour's time; and therefore he desired me to write this as his answer: which, that I might not mistake, I repeated over as I apprehended it, and his Highness said, it was right: and I have kept close to it in what I have written: which is all I shall, or indeed, can trouble you with upon

upon this subject. And, I think, his Majesty has before him, from my several dispatches since I left *Nimeguen*, the perfect and clear state of all matters and dispositions as they play here, which yet may alter by the accidents that the spring or summer shall bring forth; but, I believe, not till then. Upon the closure of this, I intend for *Nimeguen*, and there fall into the footsteps I left; and hope to recover my health, which has suffered a good deal by this journey, and which I shall always reserve for the occasions of his Majesty's service.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Nimeguen, February 6. N. S. 1677.

May it please your Highness,

I Received a letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamson* by his Majesty's command, in answer to the account I gave him of your Highness's discourses to me at *Dieren*, upon the subject of his Majesty's last letter to your Highness.

I find the King apprehends by the way and manner of your Highness's answer (in return to what I discoursed to you there, as his Majesty's thoughts in confidence between you, about the conditions of a peace) that what his Majesty had offered upon that subject, had not been rightly understood by your Highness, or by me: because, first, the thing is not meant to be any proposition that the King would make (which his Majesty thinks is not in his part, nor has he any authority to do it) but merely a confidence between him and

your Highness, in return of what you were pleased to ask of his Majesty, by your letter of the 15th past; upon which the King gave his thoughts, framed and applied particularly to what your Highness had represented of yours as to the main conditions of a peace.

Next, his Majesty observes, that the change of *Cambray* was not a direct part of the principal scheme there offered; but is added, in the second place, as, what his Majesty proposes, were to be wished, in his opinion, for the making, as it were, a double frontier to *Brussels*, if it could be obtained from *France*. And farther, his Majesty observes, there were six towns proposed to be restored to *Spain* upon that exchange; so as his Majesty is of opinion, that what he has proposed, if it could be got, would be better for *Flanders*, (which is the great thing the King thinks he ought to have in his care) than what even your Highness proposes. And therefore his Majesty desires you would think a little farther of the thing, and not let it fall so very flat as you seemed to do by your last answer, without trying what it can be beaten out to: for things of this kind cannot be expected to have their perfection upon the first essay; but must be wrought upon with patience and temper. And so his Majesty desires your Highness will do in this, and let him know your farther mind upon it; which his Majesty desires in the point, for the great care he is in, to have this matter of *Flanders* secured before it be too late.

But if, after all, your Highness still continues of your own mind, and that you so desire it, his Majesty will very readily hand forward, in the best manner he can, this or any other scheme your Highness shall think fit to have him hand towards *France*, and give your Highness the best account he can of the success it hath. But his Majesty cannot but think strange, the thing

having

having been taken up in confidence between him and your Highness, and so resolved to be handled between you, should thus be wholly let fall by your Highness.

This being what I have order to write to your Highness upon this subject, from his Majesty, I shall not presume to encrease your trouble any farther, than by the professions of that passion and truth, wherewith I am ever,

Your Highness's most

faithful and most

obedient servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

• S I R,

Soesdyke, February 26. N. S. 1677.

ON Friday last I received a letter by an express from the Prince, by which he desired me to meet him at this place on *Sunday*, as I accordingly did; and had last night a long conversation with his Highness upon the subject of my letter to him; which, as you will have observed by the copy I sent you, was a perfect extract of what you were pleased to write to me by his Majesty's command of the 30th past. I repeated to him again his Majesty's apprehension of his Highness having mistaken the thing as it was offered by his Majesty; in regard that *Cambray* was not made a direct part of the principal scheme; but added only as the King's opinion, for making a sort of a double frontier to *Brussels*, if it could be obtained from *France*: and also, that by this scheme there would be six towns restored to *Spain*; whereas his Highness had reckoned there would be but five.

The

The Prince replied, he understood there would be but five of those that were given to *France* by the peace of *Aix*; and that you had given *un autre tour à cette affaire, mais que cela ne change pas la chose*. But, that the difference was plain between his Majesty's thoughts and his: for his Majesty intended they should treat *sur le pied de ce que la France possédoit à présent, & que les échanges se feroient là dessus*: whereas, his (the Prince's) meaning was, that they should treat upon the foot of *Aix la Chapelle*, and that the exchanges should be made upon that.

I told him, his Majesty desired, however, that he would think a little farther of it, and not let it fall so suddenly; since his Majesty's design was the securing of *Flanders* before it were too late: and that, however, if his Highness should continue of the same mind, the King would be willing to hand over to *France* any scheme the Prince should think fit, and give him the best account he could of it.

The Prince replied, that he had considered enough of it; but did not well know what he could say more upon it at this time: that when he had first spoke to me of it at the *Hague*, he was not only very desirous of a peace, but of opinion, that it might have been compassed this winter, and thought it was fitter for him to address himself to his Majesty upon it, than go any other way; both because he believed his Majesty desired the peace, and was also concerned that *Flanders* should not be lost: that he had made *ce pas d'avance*, in telling the King his thoughts upon the terms; and had some reason to hope, that *France* might have been contented with them, if his Majesty had fallen into the same mind: that he was very sorry the King's thoughts had been so different from his, and such as he is sure he cannot agree to, if he be a man of honour; considering how he stands engaged to his allies: that he is not at all confident, he could have brought them to
what

what he had proposed; but should, however, have endeavoured it, and whenever his Majesty's thoughts came nearer his, that he shall be still glad to know them: but he now looked upon the campaign as begun, and believed, at the very time we talked, the guns were playing before *Valenciennes*, and that the success of the campaign would every day change the pretensions of the parties in point of the peace: that, for his own part, he now saw no hopes of it; but expected a very long war, unless *Flanders* should be wholly lost; and, in that case, the States must make the best terms they could: but, he confessed he was of the *Spaniards* mind, that it was better to lose *Flanders* by a war, than by a peace: that he believed, *Valenciennes* would be taken, and perhaps *St. Omers* too; and the more towns were taken, the more difficult the peace would be, since there could be found no equivalent for them upon a treaty: that he expected a very ill beginning of the campaign, and to make an ill figure in it himself; at least, till the *Germans* took the field: but he was in, and must go through with it; and the best was, that few campaigns end as they begin: that he gave his Majesty thanks for his offer of handing any proposition from him to *France*; but that was never his meaning: for, if it had, he could easily have found a directer way: but his intention was to enter into a confidence with his Majesty alone upon that subject; and to owe a peace to him, if they had agreed upon the terms. But if any thing be proposed to *France* otherwise than as his Majesty's own thoughts, it must be from the alliance, and not particularly from him.

I asked his Highness, whether he would not write to the King upon this subject; but he excused it upon his having so many other dispatches last night upon his hands, and his going so early this morning to the *Hague*: upon which he desired me to let his Majesty know all we had been able to say upon it: I repeated

peated it to him, as near as I could, to what he had said; and upon his approving of it, immediately set it down in writing according to what I have transmitted now to you.

His Highness went this morning by five a clock towards the *Hague*, and talks of going from thence in eight or ten days. I have staid here till this afternoon upon the dispatch of my letters, that I might not lose this post; but am now returning towards *Nimeguen*; and shall not lengthen this trouble beyond the assurances of my being ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, *Nimeguen, March 26. N. S. 1677.*

I Were not excusable to offer your Lordship many troubles of this kind, at a time I know you have so many of another: yet having lately received an intimation from my Son, of your Lordship's desire, to know if I had lately heard of any project offered by the *French* to the Prince of Orange towards a peace; I thought it became me to tell your Lordship myself, that since the account I gave Mr. Secretary *Williamson* of what passed at my last interview with his Highness at *Soesdyke*, I have not heard of any thing of that kind, farther than the jealousies of Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*, about some private negotiations between them upon the articles of the marine treaty, which he the more apprehends by the delays of the *Dutch* Ambassadors to enter into that matter here; as they pretended to do within few days after the exchange of the pretensions between the parties. If there be any thing

of

of that kind on foot, I believe it is between the Marechal *d'Estrades* and the Pensioner, by the intervention of one *Pesser* (as I remember his name is) who was Pensioner of the town of *Mastricht* when the *French* took it; and who has kept up a correspondence of letters with the Marechal ever since his return into *Holland*.

The Pensioner had formerly shewed me several of those letters in general terms, about the advantages the State might find in a peace with *France*. And when I was last at the *Hague*, he told me, he newly received two with very particular overtures. I would fain have seen them, but he excused it, upon knowing that I was bound to give an account of them to Court; and suspecting that no other use would be made of them there, but communicating all to *France*, which would lose the Pensioner's credit upon such occasions.

On the other side, Monsieur *Colbert* and *d'Avaux* have told me, that the reason of their Master's sending Monsieur *d'Estrades* hither instead of the Duke *de Vitry* (who was in the first commission) was, the possession he had given the Ministers in *France*, of the great correspondences he had in *Holland*. Upon which point, though I know he is very pretending, yet I do not think it goes farther than what I have mentioned, and had not reached any thing particular with the Prince when I saw him last.

Besides, I left his Highness fully resolved upon the prosecution of the war this campaign, without more thoughts of the peace, after that transaction with his Majesty had failed: and, I hear, Don *John* has not only performed with him in what payments were due to the admiralty at *Amsterdam*, but in an advance of 50000 crowns, and a fund for the rest of his Highness's personal debts from *Spain*, and likewise had established a course that will not fail, for the transmitting

two hundred thousand crowns a month for the affairs of *Flanders*, and payment of the allies. So that I do not well see what can prevent the course of this campaign, unless the Emperor should fail in what he assured the Prince of *Orange*, concerning the motions and conduct of the *German* armies, either by the uncertainty of the councils of *Vienna*, between the differing factions of the Duke of *Lorraine* and *Montecuculi* in that Court; or by the faltering of some of the Princes of *Germany* in the alliance, which has been of late suspected of the Dukes of *Lunenburg*. In these cases, or any other, that shall hinder the *German* armies from drawing off the *French* forces from *Flanders* into *Germany*, it will not be in the power of the Prince of *Orange* and the *Spaniards* to save the rest of *Flanders* this summer: and what measures that will draw on, of force, between his Highness and *France*, I cannot tell. But otherwise, if the *Germans* perform what they have promised their allies, it may be a warm summer on that side; and the poor remainder of *Flanders*, after the loss of *St. Omers* and *Cambray* (which the *French* Ambassadors here assure themselves of) may be saved by diversion; for otherwise it never can.

Thus I believe that affair plays at present. In the mean time, I must confess to your Lordship, I was troubled to find the Prince go into the field so ill satisfied with that scheme of peace, which his Majesty, by Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* letter, ordered me to communicate to him: and the more, because some words he let fall in the heat of discourse, made me doubt, if he should have a mind hereafter to make any overtures to *France*, he might do it by some other way than by his Majesty. For, as to the thing itself, he thought what the King proposed, was the utmost that *France* would have asked. Nay, he said, he had reason to believe, when he spoke to me first, that *France* would have accepted even what his Highness mentioned

mentioned, if his Majesty would but have proposed it as his own opinion: and he wondered his Majesty would not make that pace, and, at least, send his Highness the answer of *France* upon it. Then, for the manner, he was as much unsatisfied, as with the matter of it. He said, Mr. Secretary *Williamson* thought he could make him mistake the thing, by giving it *un autre tour*; and that he could satisfy him with *la crème foitée*: and asked, why such dealing with so plain a man as he (the Prince) was? And said, that if he had thought *qu'on auroit pris l'affaire de cet air là*, he would never have troubled them with it in *England*, and could have found a nearer way to *France*.

I said what I could to satisfy him: but he has a way of falling downright into the bottom of a business, and is to be dealt with no other way that ever I could find; and upon this occasion, said a great deal very sharply of some of the King's Ministers dealing artificially with him, and believing they could talk him into any thing: which, he said, was not a way to do business, and only shewed the mean opinion they had of him, that they thought was to be dealt with by such methods as those.

I am ever,

My Lord,

your, &c.

To Mr. Hyde.

SIR, Nimeguen, May 21. N. S. 1677.

I Am to acknowledge the favour of one from you of the 8th, and the testimonies it gave me of the continuance of your kindness to me, and remembrance of our conversation here, which, I question not, will

begin again where it ended, at what time, or in what place soever it happens to be renewed. Since you tell me, you know no more of your return hither, than I find by your letter, I will enter no farther upon a discourse you seem resolved to let fall, but attend the effect of those good words you give me, about employing me in your service here, when you begin to look this way. I suppose this day will for the present have turned your thoughts upon another scene, and by the motions whereof they here either hope or fear that the measures of this will be influenced.

For my part, I am so much a stranger to the councils in *England*, that I cannot pretend to give myself the least account of them upon this occasion, and much less to other men that are very inquisitive after them: and am very well content to be so; for, you know, all my politics are at an end with that of my late negotiation at the *Hague*: and I pretend no more than to do a plain duty while I am in these employments, and pass a private easy life, after this is ended: and, instead of care to mend the world, busy my thoughts no farther than with that of mending myself. All we wish is, that we might at one time or other lose the reproach I told you, of *fluctuation perpetuelle*, and resolve for good and all what ends and points are fittest for us to pursue, and then bend our endeavours in steady courses to bring them about; and when one way fails, try another, as we have good examples. And I think in politics, as well as morals, it is a good question of one of your friends and mine, though our colleague's enemy;

*Est aliquid quo tendis, et in quod dirigis arcum;
An passim sequeris corvos?*

And there I leave all these kind of thoughts, and wish you happy success in this session of Parliament

you

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 347

you are entering, and the good fortunes and entertainments you propose to yourself at Court, or any where, and to myself many occasions of expressing how much I am

your most faithful

and most humble servant.

To my Lord Bishop of Rochester.

My Lord, Nimeguen, May 21. N. S. 1677.

I Am unacquainted with thanks or praises, having so little deserved any, that I must judge of them rather by the report of others, than by any experience of my own. But if by either, I understand any thing of them, all the charm or value they have, arises from the esteem a man has of the person that gives them, or the belief, in some measure, of his own deserving them. The first of these circumstances gave so great an advantage to those I had lately the honour of receiving from your Lordship in a letter delivered me by Mr. *Dolben*, that the want of the other was but necessary to allay the vanity they might otherwise have given me. But where a man can find no ground to flatter himself upon the thanks he receives, he begins to consider whether they are praise or reproach: and so, I am sure, I have reason to do in the acknowledgments your Lordship is pleased to make me of any favours to your Son, who has never yet been so kind to me, as to give me the least occasion of obliging him. I confess, I should have been glad to meet with any, though I do not remember so much as ever to have told him so; but if he has guessed it from my countenance or conversation, it is a testimony of his observing much, and judging well; which are qualities I have thought

thought him guilty of, among those others that allow me to do him no favour but justice only in esteeming him. 'Tis his fortune to have been before-hand with me, by giving your Lordship an occasion to take notice of me, and thereby furnishing me with a pretence of entering into your service; which gives him a new title to any I can do him, and your Lordship a very just one to employ me upon all occasions.

Notwithstanding your Lordship's favourable opinion, I will assure you, it is well for me, that our work here requires a little skill, and that we have no more but forms to deal with in this congress, while the treaty is truly in the field, where the conditions of it are yet to be determined. *Fata viam invenient*: which is all I can say of it; nor shall I increase your Lordship's present trouble, beyond the professions of my being,

My Lord,

your Lordship's most obedient,

humble servant.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Nimeguen, June 25. N. S. 1677.

IF I pretended to make your Lordship the acknowledgements I owe for the honour and kindness of your last letter, this, I am sure, would be made up of nothing else: and therefore, when I have assured your Lordship, that no man could be more obliged than I was by it, nor more sensible than I was upon it; I shall tell you, without more circumstance, what my thoughts have amounted to, upon the consideration of that proposal you are pleased to make me from the King. His Majesty has always been so gracious to me

me, but so much more particularly in the opinion of my being capable of serving him in that station your Lordship mentions; that if I were worth that sum, or a greater than what, it seems, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* expects, I would, the readiest in the world, lay it down, either upon this occasion, or any other, or upon none at all besides the least signification of his Majesty's pleasure. But in the condition of my fortune, I will assure your Lordship, it were as easy for me to coin it, as to find it any other ways; my father living still, and keeping the whole estate of the family: and the best husbandry in such employments as mine have been, reaching no farther than to bring the year about, unless, upon the change of them, some presents attend it. But, if either it should arrive that I should out-live my father, who is very infirm; or that this employment should end with the presents usual to mediators; I shall leave it wholly to his Majesty to command me how to dispose of any thing I shall thereby possess. And I am of opinion, upon the general prospect I have into the affairs of *Christendom*, from my station here, that I shall easily see to an end of this employment, as soon as this campaign is done: and that within three months after, we shall either fall into the war, or shall see a peace of one sort or other.

In either of these cases, my figure here determines, and shall do so in *Holland* too, if his Majesty gives me leave; and the presents of this last will bring something into my purse, though the other should fail, and go a little way towards what your Lordship proposes. And it is possible, that in the mean while I may be a little necessary to his Majesty's honour in this very post, where it happens unfortunately, that though the wise paces a Minister makes, may never be worth taking notice of, yet he lies every day in the way of making ill ones; and upon them lies as open both to his Majesty's

jeſty's diſhonour and his own, as perhaps in any employment of the world beſides.

Upon Mr. Secretary *Coventry's* part in ſuch a delay, I can ſay little, but hope, his Maſteſty will be content, at the leaſt, for ſo long to keep a good ſervant, inſtead of hazarding an ill one: and, I think, the bargain between my Lord *Arlington* and Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, depended a great deal longer than this can do; though, as I remember, it was but ſix thouſand pounds that was given between them, and my Lord *Arlington* gave my Lord *St. Albans* ten. And if his Maſteſty ſhould have a mind, in the mean time, to excuſe himſelf from admitting any other, by ſaying, he is engaged; he may very well do it, upon what he was pleaſed to ſay to me in the year 1674, after the peace was made, when I made my acknowledgments, as well as excuſes, upon the offer of going Ambaſſador into *Spain*: that he intended me a better thing; and that, though he was then engaged, yet, when it fell again, I ſhould have it. I do not ſay this to lay the leaſt hold in the world upon any ſuch promiſe, but to furniſh his Maſteſty with the excuſe of being engaged, if he ſhould think fit. Otherwiſe, it is a thing I abſolutely forget whenever his Maſteſty does ſo: and if he finds any other perſon he thinks fit to bring into the place, I ſhall however, upon my return from hence, either in any other ſtation, or in none, endeavour, the reſt of my life, to deſerve his Maſteſty's opinion, of being either as good a ſervant, or, at leaſt, as good a ſubject, as any he has.

I had a letter this laſt week from the Prince, wherein he was pleaſed to give me ſome account of Monſieur *Bentinck's* journey and return, extremely to his Highneſs's ſatiſfaction, as to all that paſſed from his Maſteſty upon that occaſion. As to your Lordſhip's part, he ſays theſe words: *Je l'avois particulierement adreſſé à Monſieur le grand Treſorier; qui en a uſé d'une maniere*
ſi

si obligeante, & luy a parlé avec tant de franchise, que je ne puis m'en assez louer. If he can succeed in the desires I know he has, of making a journey into *England* when the campaign ends, I believe so much of his inclinations towards a peace (that may, in any kind, save his honour and the rest of *Flanders*) that I am confident, the King and his Highness, if they meet, will take their measures together upon that matter, and upon the future conduct of both their allies.

I ask your Lordship's pardon for so long a trouble; which yet must not end without the repetition of all the most sensible acknowledgments that can be made you for so much favour as has obliged me to be for ever, and with as much reason as passion,

My Lord,

your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

Sheen, August—, 1677.

SINCE the account I gave you lately from *Nimeguen*, of my son's coming to me, the errand he was sent on, and the answer I had returned thereupon to his Majesty, I thought that affair would have slept, at least, for some time: but within a fortnight after, I received by express, a command to repair immediately into *England*, without so much as any notice of the occasion. I accordingly left *Nimeguen* the 5th of *July*, and had a very good passage over in a yacht that was sent for me to the *Briel*. The first time I saw the King, he was pleased to call me into his closet, and to tell me, I knew the occasion of my coming over, from what my Lord Treasurer had lately writ to me by his command; that he had seen my answer, and was, however, resolved I should come into that post: that
he

he knew no man was so fit to serve him in it as I; and since he found I was not able to bear the charge of coming into it, he was content to do it himself: that upon my coming over, Secretary *Coventry* had taken a great alarm; and though he had before been willing to part with his place, upon the terms my Lord Treasurer had proposed to him, yet he had, upon this occasion, come to him (the King) and told him the reports he met with from all hands, of my being sent for over to come into his office: that he hoped he had, at least, deserved, by so long services, not to be turned off without giving him so much time, that his friends and the world might see it was a choice of his own, rather than the King's. His Majesty said, he had told him, that he need not trouble himself any farther about it, and that when he took such a resolution, he would tell him of it himself; and that this was all he had said till he spoke with me.

I gave his Majesty my humble thanks, as became me upon such an occasion; but said, I thought Secretary *Coventry* had great reason in what he desired: that he was a very worthy Gentleman, and had served him long: and therefore I made it my humble suit to his Majesty, that he would not part with him to make room for me, till he himself should be content. The King bid me speak with my Lord Treasurer about it; and so this matter rests; and I am sure shall do so for me; for my friends must pardon me if I cannot overcome the coldness I have at heart upon this occasion; to say no more.

Some days after, the King seeming to be in great apprehensions for the Prince of *Orange's* person, upon the hazards he is continually exposed to, and likewise for the success of the present campaign; considering the *French* forces now in the field, and how ill the Prince is seconded by his allies, told me he had a mind

mind I should go over to him, and try, whether he would fall into such terms of a peace, as his Majesty might hope to get accepted by *France*: that, in case any such could be agreed on before the campaign ended, he should be glad to see the Prince here, having consented to it when Monsieur *Bentinck* was in *England*. I told his Majesty, that, I was confident, he knew the Prince's mind upon the terms of a peace, without sending to him, by all that passed in that negotiation between the Prince and me last winter; and that I believed nothing could alter him, unless it were some great change of affairs, by the good or ill success of this campaign, which was not yet near an end: and and when it was done, since his Majesty was content the Prince should come over, they would much easier agree, when they were together, than by any Minister between them, in how much confidence soever.

I was extremely pressed for some days upon this journey, and had no mind to it, knowing how unwelcome it would be to the Prince while he was in the field, for many reasons; and how ill it would answer the end for which his Majesty intended it; and therefore, at last, told the King and Duke together, that if they were resolved to make the trial, I desired they would do it by another hand: that I had spent all my shot last winter, and left the Prince fixed upon a stand, which, I was sure, he would make good as long as he could: that Mr. *Hyde* was now idle here; who having upon his return from *Poland*, received a commission to appear as one of the King's mediators, during the short stay he should make at *Nimeguen*; and there being now but one Ambassador of the King's there, I thought there was nothing so proper, as for Mr. *Hyde* to return to *Nimeguen* in that figure, how little soever there was to do; since, by our original commission, there ought to be two to act in that mediation: that, upon his journey, he might see the Prince of *Orange*, and pursue

such instructions as his Majesty should give him upon that occasion.

This was approved and resolved on; and Mr. *Hyde* is well enough pleased with the employment; which renews his character at *Nimeguen*, that was before but a compliment to him as he passed by that place: though I have, as a friend, told him before-hand what success he is like to meet in his journey to the Prince; and he reckons upon it.

This is all the present account I can give you of myself, whatever you will meet with in the news-papers that run abroad, and have made me Secretary of State already: so that I receive twenty impertinent compliments upon it, and applications for places in the office. But I am, I thank God, in an easy place here at *Sheen*, where I spend all the time I can possibly, and never saw any thing pleasanter than my garden, and the country and river about it, which I was grown almost a stranger to. I think here often of *Sancho*, that said, he had got nothing by his government, but the knowledge that he was not fit to govern any thing besides his sheep. And that I have got by knowing a Court, and the course of public affairs, that I am not fit to serve in one, nor to manage the other; which is all I shall say in excuse of my conduct: and you, and my friends, will be content I shall, at least, take a little breath, and see the issue of the present campaign abroad, and of the Prince's journey hither at the end of it, before I take any new measures, or fall into any new engagements.

My wife and family continue still at *Nimeguen*; only my sister and *Jack* are with me here, and both seem as kind to *Sheen* as I am. We are confident, you would be so too, if you could resolve of seeing it once since the alterations made here; that you might have a share in the pleasure of them, as well as you had in the charge.

We

We long to hear of your good health, having, I doubt, lost some letters by our sudden removals.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

London, November——, 1677.

THough I do not trouble you often with public news or business, yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which, I know, you will be more pleased with than any you have been entertained with a great while. For, I remember how often and how much you have desired to see the Prince of *Orange* married here; not only from your good wishes to him, but from your apprehensions of some greater matches that might betel us, and with consequences ill enough to posterity, as well as to the present age. I am in a good deal of haste at this present time, and therefore shall sum up a great deal in a little room. The Prince of *Orange* came to the King at *Newmarket*, where he was mighty well received both of King and Duke. I made the acquaintance there between the Prince and my Lord Treasurer; and in such a manner, as, though they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very soon into confidence.

The Prince said not a word to any of them of any thoughts of a wife while they staid at *Newmarket*; and told me, no considerations should move him in that affair, till he had seen the lady. The day after he saw her here, he moved it to the King and Duke, and though

though he did it with so good a grace, that it was very well received, yet, in four or five days treaty, it proved to be entangled in such difficulties, that the Prince sent for me one night, and uttering his whole heart, told me, he was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart of his journey, and would be gone within two days, and trust God Almighty with what would follow; and so went to bed the most melancholy that ever I saw him in my life. Yet before eleven a-clock the next morning, the King sent me to him, to let him know, he was resolved on the match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the Prince's own way.

Thus far what had passed went no farther than the King, the Duke, the Prince, my Lord Treasurer and me: but that afternoon it was declared at the foreign committee, and next day at council; you will easily imagine with what general joy. I cannot but tell you, that no man seems to lay it to heart so much as my Lord *Arlington*; having had no part in it; which he could not but take notice of to the Prince, who told me, his compliment to him upon it was, that some things, though they were good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the manner of doing them; but this was in itself so good, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it. I am told, he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I must bear as well as I can: but yet, because you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, that it was not only impossible my Lord Treasurer and he should concur in one thing, but he had likewise lost all the Prince's confidence and opinion, since his last journey into *Holland*. Besides, for my own part, I found these two years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the Prince, nor with the Treasurer; but endeavoured by Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* to break the first, by steps which the Prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching

reproaching me with the last whenever I went to him; though he himself had first advised me to apply myself to my Lord Treasurer all I could, upon my last embassy into *Holland*. And though I had ever since told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my Lord Treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the marriage, the King and the Prince have fallen into the business abroad, and agreed upon the terms of a peace, which the King will offer to *France*, and such as they both conclude will secure *Flanders*. They both agree, that I must of necessity go to *Paris* immediately upon this errand, and bring a positive answer from that Court within a time prefixed. I never undertook any journey more unwillingly, knowing in what opinion I stand already at that Court; how deeply they resent the Prince's match without their communication, or the least word to their Ambassador here; and with how little reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this errand. But the King will absolutely have it; and so I have made all my small preparations, and think to be gone within two days; which is all at present, but to ask your blessing, and assure you of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To the Prince of ORANGE.

London, December 8. 1677.

May it please your Highness,

I Should by last post have rejoiced with your Highness upon the news of your happy arrival, and upon the resolutions that have been taken here since you went, in those affairs wherein your Highness is so deeply concerned; but that my Lord Treasurer's letter to you upon this subject, was so long and so particular, that nothing could be added to it for your Highness's information or satisfaction: and therefore I resolved not to trouble you with the same thing by that post, and from so much a worse hand. I suppose my Lord Ambassador *Hyde* will have shewed your Highness his instructions, and Mr. Secretary's letter upon that occasion; which agreeing so fully with what my Lord Treasurer writ, must have left you in no doubt of those resolutions being taken here. And yet I thought your Highness would not be displeased to know from me, that I am of opinion they are so; and, which is more, that the Duke will go up to as great a height in them as any man, in case *France* gives them the occasion, by their answer to what Mr. *Montague* goes away with to-day; and that his Highness will absolutely conclude from thence, what their good intentions are or have been to the King: though I have this second time excused myself from attending upon your Highness, and thereby devolved his Majesty's commands upon Mr. *Hyde* once more, yet I hope your Highness will pardon me, since I have only reserved myself for the next occasion, which, I expect, will be of more moment, and within a very little time. For the present, I only desire your Highness will please to give your answer to what Mr. *Hyde* carries you, in such manner as may be fully to his Majesty's satisfaction;

faction; and if you shall scruple the doing it to any other hand, that you would, at least, do it in a private letter to his Majesty's own, which may not go farther than to those hands by which all your Highness's concerns have hitherto been transacted.

I hope your Highness will think to write particularly to the Duke, as well as the King, in acknowledgment and applause of these late resolutions; and my Lord Treasurer will deserve it too, by the great part he has had in them.

I ask your Highness's pardon for the length and confidence of this letter, and your justice in believing me ever, what I shall ever be, with a perfect devotion,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

The King's Speech intended to the Parliament, drawn up at my Lord Treasurer's Desire, April 27. 1678.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Intended to have met you sooner, but found it necessary to defer it for some few days, that I might discourse more freely and clearly to you upon the present conjunctures; and that we might perfectly understand one another, which, I am confident, we now shall do, and this day end all distrusts and jealousies between us; because I know we mean the same things, which are, the honour and safety of these kingdoms, the preservation of *Flanders*, and preventing the growth of the *French* power.

I was some time in hopes to have attained these ends by the exercise of my mediation, in pursuit of a peace; which I thought the more necessary by observing the
bent

bent of some of the confederates towards it, and the ill conduct of the war by others: while I received, at the same time, frequent assurances from *France*, that they never intended the conquest of *Flanders*, but desired a reasonable peace; and should very far consider my offices and thoughts upon the conditions of it.

But seeing the state of the war so much changed, and *Flanders* so much endangered, by the events of last campaign, I thought it necessary for the safety of these kingdoms (and, indeed, that of *Christendom*) so far to enforce my mediation, as to propose last winter to *France*, such terms of a peace as I had reason to believe the confederates would accept; and, as I was sure, would leave *Flanders* defensible; which, at that time, I doubted would hardly be so by continuing the war: and I had not much reason to doubt of *France*; because their refusal would plainly discover their design of conquering *Flanders* (contrary to all their professions) since both they and I knew, it could not be secured without a frontier, as I proposed for it. Upon the difficulties made by *France* to accept these conditions, and finding *Holland* would not continue the war, otherwise than in pursuit, and with the prospect of a peace, I immediately made two alliances with them; one of mutual defence, and the other offensive against *France*, in case they would not accept the terms I had proposed: which were these,

That they should restore to *Spain* the towns of *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *Condé*, with their dependencies; and all others which should be taken after that time (as *St. Gislain*, *Ghent*, and *Ypres* have unfortunately been.) That they should restore all they had taken in *Sicily* (which is a care now happily prevented: that they should restore *Mastricht* to the *Dutch*, and *Lorraine* to the Duke of that name. That the peace of the Emperor should be made upon the foot of affairs at that time,

by

by which *Philipsburgh* would have remained to the empire, and the loss of *Friburgh* would have been prevented. That, because the peace of the north could not be adjusted in so short a time, a truce should be concluded there, till by the pursuit of our mediation, a peace could be agreed on.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am not ashamed to own publicly this scheme of a peace, both to you here, and to all the world abroad; as what I thought most agreeable with the duty of a Mediator; and with what I owed to the safety of my own kingdoms, and the regard I had to your satisfaction, in the just concernment you had so often expressed for the preservation of *Flanders*; which I knew might be much easier defended after the restoring those towns, than before it. But, I will confess, I am ashamed to find myself so much deceived, as I have been by *France* upon this occasion; who, contrary to all they have so often professed, and promised me, have cut off all hopes of any reasonable peace, by which *Flanders* might be safe: but, on the other side, making difficulties, first upon one town, then upon another (as the necessity of the *Spaniards*, or dispositions of the *Dutch* gave them occasion) they have all along too plainly discovered their designs of carrying on the war, to the full conquest of *Flanders*; whilst they endeavour to amuse the world, and us in particular, with the discourses or overtures of a peace.

Yet in the last they have made, they include the present restitution of *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Holstein*; though they confine the peace they offer to the 10th of *May*. They will, indeed, keep *Lorrain*, whilst they pretend to restore it: for they will keep *Nancy*, *Marsal*, and the highways through that country: and they will have *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *Condé*, and *Ypres*, which are the very keys of *Flanders* on that side; besides *Dinant* or *Charlemont*, on the other.

I would not confess to you how much I have been deceived by them in these practices, and in those they have since begun with the *Dutch* upon this occasion, if I were not resolved to be so no more: and I will tell you plainly, that I should immediately have declared the war upon the discovery of them, but that I found it necessary first to make my alliances with the rest of the confederates, and therein to pursue the good advice you hinted to me yourselves, in one of your addresses, to provide that none of the parties engaged in the confederacy, should lay down their arms, or depart from their alliances: as likeways, that none of them should hold any commerce, or trade, with the *French* King, or his subjects, during the war.

Both these points I have been endeavouring to secure now for some time; but have been delayed in them, contrary to my expectation, by the *Dutch* Ambassadors wanting powers, or instructions, to conclude upon those two particulars. And, I doubt, in the last, your too great haste in forbidding *French* commodities, was the occasion of the *Dutch* declining what before they had offered, in so material a point. I say not this at all to reproach you, because I know your meaning was good; and because, in a time when the safety of *Christendom*, as well as our own, seems to lie at stake, we ought all to look forward, upon what is best to be done, and not backward, upon what occasions are lost, or what errors have passed; or what, in short, is now past remedy.

God be thanked, I have at length, retrieved this point, in a great measure; and find the Ministers of the confederates now ready to conclude our treaties, for carrying on the war by common consent; and pursuing it according to such successes as God Almighty shall please to give to so just and necessary an undertaking. I have, in the mean time, made my levies of land forces, and my preparations for sea, according to the

the scheme and proportions you yourselves designed. I have already sent ——— thousand men over into *Flanders*, and have ——— thousand more ready to send after them ; and am ready to declare the war, immediately upon the signing of our treaties : but first resolved to have your advice upon it, now I have laid the whole affair before you. For your assistances I doubt them not at all, considering the many assurances you have given me upon this occasion, and the zeal you have ever expressed to the safety, honour, and true interests of the nation ; in which, I doubt not, but we shall always agree.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Sheen, May 18th, 1678.

Finding myself something recovered of my illness, which hindered me from waiting upon your Lordship before I left the town ; I could not but let you know how very sensible I was of what you last told me, with so much kindness, about his Majesty and Royal Highness having been so much displeased with some of my late discourses to his Majesty ; though your Lordship could not tell me more of them, than that they were some popular notions : as likewise the great dissatisfaction his Majesty would receive at the difficulties I made to enter into an affair which belonged not at all to my post ; and wherein his Majesty had not done me the honour to acquaint me with the deliberation or digestion of it. I must confess, the sense of his Majesty's displeasure (which I never deserved), has been so great a mortification to me, that, to shew how much I have ever been concerned in his Majesty's service and satisfaction, and how little in any advantages of my own, I have resolved most humbly to lay at his Majesty's feet, not only my two present embassies,

bassies, but also the promise of the Secretary's place, which his Majesty was pleased long since to make me so graciously, and of his motion. Therefore, whenever his Majesty pleases to order me a letter of revocation to the States General (which I shall send over to my Secretary at the *Hague*) and give me leave to send for both my families away from the *Hague* and *Nimeguen*, I shall upon it come and beg the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand, and make him my humble acknowledgments for the undeserved honours he hath done me, by so many and so great employments abroad, as well as by designing me so much a greater at home. I shall at the same time assure his Majesty of my resolutions, to pass the rest of my life in the constant and hearty wishes, and prayers, for the honour and safety of his Majesty and his kingdoms; and that, how mean a servant soever I have been, he shall find me as good a subject as any man alive.

For what I ought to say to your Lordship upon this occasion, I shall leave it till I wait upon you; being resolved, by all means possible, to preserve the honour of so long an acquaintance, and of so much favour as your Lordship's to me. And as, during all my employments, I never yet asked any thing of his Majesty, besides the bare pay of them, nor ever used to trouble your Lordship about any business of my own, so I shall continue the same course at the end of them, and leave to my wife the pursuit of what his Majesty owes me upon them; that so your Lordship may ever reckon upon all the services, and never upon any trouble from,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

London, July 2. 1678.

THE account I gave your Grace by my brother of my not writing, was so true, that, though I was very sorry I had it for so long together, yet, I know, your Grace was so just, as to receive it. I will not presume to say, it is now at an end, because that God Almighty can only tell; but yet thus much is certain, that I am just now going aboard for *Holland*, and upon such measures as his Majesty seems more resolved to pursue, than ever I thought to see him, in case the States will be prevailed with to fall into them. He will be sure to have all the help the Prince can give him, who seems to have recovered a new soul upon this incident from *France*; which has given, at least, the appearance and overture of new measures in the world. The truth is, this refusal to restore the *Spanish* and *Dutch* towns, till the restitution of *Sweden*, has been so plain language, that it has, at present, opened many eyes both here and in *Holland*, which have long been shut to all our cost; but whether they are proof against all charms, I will not venture to determine. I can only assure your Grace, that the Duke has been the most constant that can be imagined, in this opinion of the *French* designs and intentions to his Majesty, ever since my Lord *Feverham's* return; and declared himself the plainest that ever I heard, yesterday at the foreign committee, that nothing could be more evident, than that *France* intended a universal monarchy, and nothing but *England* could hinder it; and that, without it, the King would endanger his crown. And for his Majesty, I have some particular

particular * reasons (which I cannot entertain your Grace with at this distance) to believe, that he is perfectly cured of ever hoping any thing well from *France*, and past the danger of being cajoled by any future offers from thence.

So that I see nothing left to shake his present resolutions, but the fear of being well seconded in them at home or in *Holland*: the last I shall soon be able to give his Majesty an account of: but the first I must leave to others, that are better acquainted with the scene where that game must play. I am of opinion, both *that* must be plaid ill, and the war managed ill, to fail, if we go into it: but I have no reason to believe, but both those may very well befall us. All that is to be said, is, that all men agree, the present measures are of absolute necessity; since no *penchant* to a peace can bring it about, if another will have a war; and if it must be at one time or another, though this may

* *The secret of the King and Duke's being so eager and hearty in their resolutions to break with France, at this juncture, was as follows:*

France, in order to break the force of the confederacy, and elude all just conditions of a general peace, resolved, by any means, to enter into separate measures with Holland; to which end, it was absolutely necessary to engage the good offices of the King of England, who was looked upon to be master of the peace whenever he pleased. The bargain was struck for either 3 or 400 thousand pounds. But when all was agreed, Monsieur Barillon, the French Ambassador, told the King, that he had orders from his Master, before payment, to add a private article, by which his Majesty should be engaged, never to keep above eight thousand men of standing troops in his three kingdoms. This unexpected proposal put the King in a rage, and made him say, —d's fish! Does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises to make me absolute master of my——, come to this? Or, Does he think that a thing to be done with eight thousand men?

'Tis possible, I may be a little mistaken as to the sums of money, and number of men; but the main of the story is exactly as I had it from the author.

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 367

may be a worse than any past, yet it is a better than any like to come.

This is all I can say worth your Grace's trouble; at least, if this itself be so. For, I am sure, nothing can be so unnecessary, as to repeat any of those professions I have so long made, and justly, of my being ever, and with as much passion, as, I am sure, it is with reason and truth,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most

faithful and most

humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamfon.

S I R,

Hague, July 14. N. S. 1678.

I Set sail on board the *Catbarine* yacht at two a-clock after noon on *Tuesday*, and landed at *Rotterdam* about the same hour next day. I came immediately to the *Hague*, and went strait to the Prince at *Hounslerdyke*, where I arrived about eight a-clock, and staid till eleven; and thought it my duty to give his Majesty an account of our first discourses.

When I had entertained his Highness at large with the subject of my journey; the dispositions raised in his Majesty by this last unexpected accident from *France*, upon the point of concluding the peace; the necessity of knowing fully the mind of the States, in order to join with them; and the firm resolutions his Majesty had taken upon it, in case *France* persisted in the refusal of the towns; and this State in not admitting the peace without it: his Highness told me, the last point was the chiefest of all; which was, the firmness

ness of his Majesty's resolution in this matter, upon which all would depend ; since nothing else could dispose either *France* to make the peace, or this State to any firm resolutions of continuing the war. When I had endeavoured, and, I think, succeeded, in satisfying his Highness in this point, by telling him many circumstances in the game in *England*, as it has played for some months past ; and many reasons his Majesty had given me to believe how unsatisfied he had been of late with the dealing from *France* : the Prince told me, how glad he was to receive this notice from me : that for this last incident in the peace from *France*, he could not but look upon it as a thing come down from heaven, and the happiest that ever could have fallen out, both for his Majesty and himself ; considering the great change it was like to make in this State. For, he would tell me in confidence, that those dispositions which had been here raised in the State, and carried them so far in so mischievous a peace, had been grounded upon the weakness and uncertainty of our conduct in *England*, and upon the opinion of the contrary in *France* ; as well as upon that of their good intentions to live always fairly with this State, and to content themselves without *poussant* their conquests any farther in *Flanders* : that in case the peace had been made upon those terms accepted here, the same persons and dispositions that brought it about, would certainly have ended all measures between *England* and them, and throw the whole dependance of this State upon *France* ; and that he (the Prince) should not have been able to hinder it : whereas the last incident had made so great a change in the minds of the Magistrates here, and the people too, that the chief leaders in those councils, were come to be ashamed of themselves, and to confess their mistakes : and if they should grow to be assured of his Majesty's going into the war, and sticking to them firmly, he

did

did not doubt, but, even after a peace, this State would come to have their dependance wholly upon *England*. He said, he believed, nevertheless, that if *France* should restore the towns before the war broke out into new action, that this State would not be hindered from accepting the peace: but of this he saw no appearance, since the *French* Ambassadors had declared so positively to those of this State at *Nimeguen*, that their Master was fixed in the point of not restoring them till the satisfaction of *Sweden*; and that Monsieur *de Luxemburgh* had given his direct refusal of suffering any more provisions to go into *Mons*, till the peace was signed: upon which he (the Prince) was resolved to go away to the army within two days; but would leave the Pensioner so instructed, that I might go on with my negotiations here in his absence.

I then told his Highness the three points upon which his Majesty expected to receive satisfaction, before he could take a final measure with this State; which were, the not making peace without mutual consent, or, at least, the fixing of certain terms to which the war should extend, and a peace not be concluded without them: the prohibition of commerce with *France* here as well as in *England*: and the mutual concert of forces. I added a fourth, which was in the foot of my instructions; that in case of any places lost, on either part, neither shall make peace, without being restored to the State they were in, at the time of the treaty's being concluded between us.

The Prince told me, to the last, there would be no difficulty. As to the first, this State would never be brought to an article of not making peace without mutual consent, nor seeing some bounds to the war: and therefore, thought the terms of the treaty of *January* last, would be a good ground to treat upon; or such

other terms as should be farther agreed to by consent of parties.

For the second, the same that Monsieur *Van Lewen* had told his Majesty in *England*, that it would be very hard to gain it by a direct convention before the war; but that it was a thing must necessarily follow: for, in a war, the bottom of *England* failing, in which they now traded, all others would be used as enemies by us; and so there could no trade remain between *France* and this State, while the war lasted.

I told his Highness, I did not leave his Majesty disposed to enter into the war, without this point being fixed. And tho' the thing seemed like to play as his Highness had discoursed; yet it was of that consequence to the main event of the war, that I thought it would be best to tell the States what his Majesty absolutely reckoned upon, and what they were like to trust to in this matter: and to shew them, that, since it was a necessary consequence of the war, it might as well be a precedent article between us. His Highness consented, and said, Follow this method.

As to the third, he was of opinion, no concert of forces could be made particular between us, but for our own mutual defence; which is done by our defensive leagues: but for that which is the defence of *Flanders*, it must be made among all the confederates, in such manner, as would be most conducing to those ends: that, he supposed, this State would bring an army into the field of twenty five thousand men, besides their garrisons: that his Majesty must not go so near the wind in such a war, as to proportion himself to the weak and exhausted condition of this State, (which would go as far, however, as possibly they could,) but to the necessity of the war, and to what the Parliament would be brought to furnish upon so great an occasion, and which they had always had so much at heart: that it would be fit to engage some of
the

the Princes of *Germany*; but not as this State has done, leaving the forces under the command of their own Princes; but to have them under his Majesty's command, to act where he pleased; which would make his Majesty master of the war and peace, and set him at the head of affairs (which was the figure *England* ought to make,) and draw this State and the neighbouring Princes of *Germany*, into a dependance upon him.

After this, his Highness asked me, whether the King would not declare the war, till the three points were concluded with the States here? I answered, that I could not say any thing certain; but that I was not impowered otherways, than upon their agreeing with his Majesty in them, to conclude finally with the States; since his Majesty would follow their dispositions, having consented to the peace upon their instances; and so would hope to reckon upon their firmness in it, and not breaking from him, as they had done in their last measures. The Prince seemed something troubled, that his Majesty would not go into the war before the granting of the three points; but he concluded, I should lose no time in entering upon the business with the States; seemed much pleased that Monsieur *Van Lewen* was come over with me, and in sentiments so agreeable to those of his Majesty; said he would endeavour to have him immediately brought into the committee of foreign affairs, though out of method; but upon pretence of his being come from *England*: that he would be extreme glad he could bring Monsieur *Hoest* into it too; but that could not be, because he was not of the States General: but that this incident from *France* had brought him and his town of *Amsterdam* to be for the war.

Upon this, the Prince said farther, though several persons here had appeared to be his enemies upon the last transactions; yet he had been so far from treating them

372 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

them so, that he had continued his commerce all along, and had his conversation ever more with them, than his friends; and by that means they were now grown to understand one another.

I have desired a conference with the States Commissioners, at four this afternoon.

I am ever, &c.

P. S. Just upon the closure of this letter, the Prince came to me; and desired me, that I would write to his Majesty, to beg the dispatching away of those troops which Monsieur *Van Lewen* told the States were ordered into *Flanders*: and that those ships which now are ready, may be sent out in a squadron to sea, to give the *French* some jealousy upon their coasts, which might possibly make some diversion now while the Prince marches: and, if his Majesty thinks fit, that some of the troops in *Flanders* may have command to obey the Prince's orders, in case he should have need of them, upon some great and pressing occasion.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, July 15. 1678.

SINCE my last, which was yesterday, I have had two conferences with the States Commissioners. In the first, I exposed to them my journey's subject at this time: I expressed to them his Majesty's sentiments and resolutions, in the very terms of my instructions: and concluded that his Majesty, as he would have entered into measures with them for the guaranty of the peace, so he would for the continuing of the war.

They returned all acknowledgments that could be, of his Majesty's generous dealing. They excused themselves

themselves upon their own necessities, and the weakness of their allies, particularly in *Flanders*: that they had been extremely surpris'd to meet with this new accident from *France*; particularly since the restitution of the towns was tied up to the satisfaction of *Sweden*, without so much as mentioning what satisfaction *Sweden* would accept, and in what time: and, indeed, without consenting that *Sweden* should accept of such satisfaction, as, perhaps, the *Swedes* themselves would have been contented with. That it would now depend upon his Majesty, whether they should submit to the terms of any peace that *France* would think fit to impose upon them.

That, indeed, upon the evacuation of the towns by *France*, the peace would then be concluded; but there was no hopes of that, since their express brought word, that the *French* Ambassadors had declared at *Nimagueu*, that they neither had order to give any other answer, than they have done already, nor expected to receive any from the King their Master: and, that in a private conference between Monsieur *Colbert* and *Beverning*, the first had told him, upon the States refusing to accept the peace on those terms, that his Master would make them accept it, *bon gré mal gré qu'ils en ayent*. That, upon all this, they desired me, if I had any farther lights to give them of his Majesty's intentions, in case the war went on, I would do it.

Hereupon I propos'd to them the four points contained in my instructions.

Upon the first I found it true, what the Prince had told me, that they would not hear of a general, and boundless, consent: so then I descended to the terms of the last treaty, but with such further conditions, more advantageous to the safety of *Flanders*, as should be agreed on by the consent of both parties.

Upon

Upon the second they made great difficulties; but I put, once for all, my whole strength upon this point, and so told them, that the prohibition of commerce was a thing which had been long pressed upon his Majesty, by their Ambassador in *England*, that he could not believe they were not equally satisfied with it here. But besides, I told them, the thing must be, and, therefore, a convention would do nothing but declare it to the world; and that this would be the greatest step towards a peace, it being the only way to persuade *France* that we were all resolved to go on with the war; since it was evident, that *France* had made this last incident, only because they thought this State would accept of any peace, rather than lose their trade any longer.

The Commissioners told me, for themselves, they were so far convinced of my reasons, that if I had none but them to deal with, I might assure myself the thing would be done. But what their Masters would say to a thing in which they had always apprehended an invincible difficulty (at least, till *England* should have declared the war) they could not tell: but, however, they promised me to give it all the advantage they could, by their office and representations.

As to the third, about the proportion of forces, they seemed infinitely unsatisfied, that *England* should go no more than almost an even pace with a State, so out of all proportion to us in strength, at the best, and so exhausted as this country now is, by the sixth year of so great a war.

They pretended to fear, that this offer would shock their principals so far, as to make them think, that since *England* would only protract the war, without forces enough to make a good peace, they had as good receive an ill one now as hereafter.

They said so much upon this point, that I was fain to put them in mind of the constitution of *England*,

as

as well as their riches and forces; and how much it would depend upon Parliaments, whether his Majesty would be enabled to prosecute the war, with such vigour as he himself, perhaps, would think necessary.

The fourth point, of mutual guaranty to each party, upon the state wherein they should enter into the treaty, met with no difficulty, and so this conference ended.

At two this afternoon I saw the Prince, after having appointed another conference with the States at four. He told me the news he had just received from *Mons*, of a skirmish much to the advantage of the garrison.

At the conference at four this afternoon, the Commissioners said, they had acquainted the States with our last conference; who were extremely sensible of his Majesty's favour to them: but that there were two points they found of hard digestion, the prohibition of commerce, and the proportion of forces. However, that upon the first, and the reasons I had urged, the States had resolved, the Deputies should go to consult their several towns: but for the proportion of forces, they thought it would be of ill consequence to propose it to them in those terms; and, therefore, had commanded them, the Commissioners, once more to press me upon this point, to enlarge the proportion on his Majesty's side. I will not trouble you with the arguments that passed on both sides; but only tell you, that it ended in this article, to be propounded by the Deputies to their towns, *Qu'en attendant un concert plus particulier touchant les forces que sa Majesté, & les alliés, engagés en cette guerre contribueront; sa Majesté fournira par provision un tiers moins de troupes en Flandres, & un tiers plus de forces de mer que celles qui seront fourni par cet Etat.* And so this conference ended, and the success of it must be expected on Monday.

Monfieur

376 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

Monfieur Olivecrans returned this day from *England*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, July 20 N. S. 1678.

HAVING drawn up matters here to a head, at least, as far as can be till the 5th of next month; and besides, the draught of our treaty, which I yet know not whether I can sign, or no; because I cannot tell whether they will come up to a formal article, for the prohibition of commerce; and the matter will not be of so pressing haste, while they here attend the final answer from *France*: I have dispatched away Mr. *Meredith*, his Majesty's Secretary of the embassy here, by the *Catherine* yacht, and encharged with my main packet to the Secretary; though I send a duplicate both of it, and my last dispatch by the master of the packet-boat's hands, that parts the same day. I have charged him with my compliments in particular to your Lordship when he makes his own; and shall add as little as I can to your trouble, besides the share of what you will have by my main dispatch: only I cannot but mark to your Lordship upon what the *French* Ambassador said to the *Dutch*, of their being sure of *England* upon treaties being concluded with his Majesty; that the Prince tells me, Monsieur *d'Avaux* asked Monsieur *Odyke* at *Nimeguen*, when such treaties were made, whether the Prince were not included, and had not his share in them? And when Monsieur *Odyke* said, not, and that he believed

lieved he knew nothing of it, Monsieur d' *Avaux* seemed much to wonder at it. I presume, by this sort of dealing among them; you may reckon upon the thing's growing public, whatever may have been private between his Majesty and them, when the affair breaks out between us, as it is like to do, unless *France* make a peace contrary to those heights wherewith they have hitherto treated us and all the world. If it does, his Majesty may well put it upon the same score with many others of that kind, which have been plaid by *France*; and the public notice whereof, will be the only way to possess all men, both at home and abroad, with the belief of his cure beyond relapse. To hear the tricks and insinuations that have been used here, especially to have men apprehend the joint designs of his Majesty and the Prince upon the liberty of this people, and the resolutions of *France* to defend them, would make any man alive lose all patience: because it looks as if they deal with men just like so many children, and make them believe any stories of cocks and bulls, whenever it served their turn; than which nothing can look like so great a scorn; and nothing, methinks, can be less born than that. The mask is falling off here apace, and the affairs of *Chrifendom* will, I doubt not, be put once more into his Majesty's hands, almost by miracle: but if he lets this knot slip again by any new fluctuation, or change of measures, it is gone for ever, and the game of *Chrifendom*, as well as his own, never to be retrieved.

The Pensioner and Monsieur *Van Lewen* tell me this evening, that they have certain intelligence of the intention of *France*, to flight both *Charleroy* and *Oudenarde*, in case they come to an evacuation of the places in *Flanders*; which is directly (as they two say) contrary to the exprefs terms of the agreement. I ought to be instructed what I am to do here in case of

378 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

such an incident, even upon the execution of the peace. I hear from all hands, the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimwegen*, are horribly unquiet upon the transactions here: and Monsieur *Fagel* told me, he could not but observe, that the *French* Ambassadors could now come to theirs with this memorial, and all the fair words; whereas before, they treated them, *de haut en bas, & comme des coquins*. I am so tired out with this cruel pinch of business since my coming over, that though I remember nothing else worth your Lordship's trouble, yet if I should, for the present, have forgot any material point, I cannot doubt your pardon, to one that is with so great passion, and so perfect a truth,

My Lord,

your, &c.

To Sir Lyonel Jenkins.

My Lord,

Hague, July 20. N. S. 1678.

I Am extremely ashamed, as well as sorry, to find two letters before me of the 16th and 28th from your Lordship, without having the satisfaction of giving you any accounts from hence by the last post; the fault whereof I must needs lay upon Mr. *Meredith*, and leave him to excuse himself as well as he can; yet I will say, not to lessen that fault, but only that misfortune, that I could not have found very much to have informed your Lordship from hence on *Sunday* last, besides only the subject of my instructions; and the assurance of my having pursued them here. For the first, I presume, your Lordship had the knowledge of them given you from the Secretary's office, about the time of my dispatch; and for the other, I will so far reckon

reckon upon your Lordship's justice, as to have believed it of me, whether I gave you part of it or no; however finding myself this morning in possession of one hour of leisure, after the sharpest pinch of business ever since I came over, that ever yet fell upon me in my life; and not being assured, that the Secretary's office acquitted themselves to your Lordship as they ought to have done upon this occasion, and as, I am sure, was the King's intention; I will tell your Lordship, that the King having laid his absolute commands upon me, about a month since, to go away for *Nimeguen*, and assist there at the conclusion of the peace (which seemed then so near) and to use my best offices, that no difficulty should arise between the *French* and *Spaniards*, and thereby the *French* should have no occasion left of making any farther progress of their arms in *Flanders*; I submitted to his Majesty's pleasure, though I had often resolved, since I went last over, never to turn my face northward any more; but I saw then no other way left of saving that little which remaineth in *Flanders*, considering the circumstances that plaid here in *Holland*, as well as at home; and your Lordship knows how long and how often I have told you and my other friends, that with the loss of that country, all my politics are ended.

When I was ready, and within twenty-four hours of embarking upon this errand, your Lordship's letter came to his Majesty's hands, giving him an account of that new incident from *France*, which alone, in appearance, could have obstructed that peace, by their refusing to evacuate the places in *Flanders*, till the restitution in *Sweden*: I never saw the King more surprised than at this news, who sent to me immediately to acquaint me with it; and, I must needs say, that I found both the King and the Duke growing so angry upon it, that I thought it my part to temper them as far as I could, desiring them, not to reason,
or,

or, at least, not to conclude upon a thing which was yet uncertain; but, in the first place, to be assured, either from the *French* Ambassador, or else from *France*, whether that thing was true or no; because all steps or resolutions taken upon it, would be forced to change, in case *France* should disown their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, in what they advanced there upon this occasion. His Majesty was pleased to follow this method, and that very night spoke to Monsieur *Barillon* about it; but finding him to own no knowledge of it, and, much less, instructions upon it, and, indeed, not seeming to believe the thing, two expresses were dispatched away into *France* the two following days, one by Monsieur *Barillon*, for his own instruction, and the other by his Majesty to Mr. *Mountague*, for his clear information upon the point, with orders to draw a sudden and positive answer upon it from that Court.

The day after, upon application of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, representing the thing to his Majesty in the same colours, and with the circumstances your Lordship had done before, together with the resolution taken upon it by the States their Masters, not to submit to such a new and unreasonable imposition, by which they were like to lose all the good they pretended from the peace; and desiring his Majesty's protection in it; the King thought it a matter of that weight and consequence, that he resolved immediately to dispatch away my Lord *Sunderland*, to know fully the mind of *France* in this matter, and with orders not to stay above five days in *Paris* for his answer. His Lordship was ready to be gone, and within six hours of parting from the town, when not only Monsieur *Barillon*'s express, as well as his Majesty's, having returned with an absolute answer from *France*, that they were resolved not to evacuate the towns; a second express arrived from Mr. *Mountague*, not only

to confirm the former answer, but to let his Majesty know, that the King of *France* had desired Mr. *Moutague*, that no person might be sent over upon that occasion ; since it was a thing in which he was resolved, and which therefore, would bear no reasoning.

Upon this dispatch, his Majesty immediately stopped that of my Lord *Sunderland*, and resolved to hasten mine, with new instructions, to assure this State, how much his Majesty was surpris'd at this new incident from *France* ; how intirely he approved their resolution already taken upon it, and how firmly he was resolved to stand by them in it. I was charged likewise with powers and orders, to conclude immediately upon measures between his Majesty and this State, in case of the war's going on ; provided I could first agree with them in these three points : the first, of not making the peace without mutual consent ; or, at least, without the conditions of *January* last. The second, a joining with his Majesty in the prohibition of *French* commerce : and lastly, a concert of forces. I could not disobey his Majesty in this second commission, though I was infinitely discouraged by many circumstances, and, most of all, by Mr. *Hyde* and *Godolphin*, who told me plainly, that matters were gone on too far here to be retrieved ; at least that they were sure it could never be done, without his Majesty's first declaring the war ; which he could not resolve upon, till he was first sure of the mind of *Holland* in that case : however, I came over, and what hath passed here will be better told your Lordship by the *Dutch* Ambassadors, than by me, with whom, I know you live in confidence, and will do so the more upon this occasion : besides, I had rather leave it to them, because I both want time, and should be forced often to speak of myself in it, which I ever love to avoid. The upshot of all hitherto is, that the States seem to resolve an immediate answer shall be given to the *French* Ambassadors

bassadors last memorial at *Nimeguen*, and that a positive answer from *France* shall be desired by the 5th of next month, upon the point of evacuating the places; that, in the mean time, the measures shall be concluded between his Majesty and this State, in case of *France's* persisting to refuse it; and the very towns of *Amsterdam*, *Leyden*, and *Rotterdam*, as well as all the rest of this province, seem absolutely and unanimously resolved, in case of such a refusal, to go on with the war, in conjunction with his Majesty, as well as the rest of the allies, and upon the strictest measures between them. This resolution I thought would have passed this day; but the final resolution is referred till to-morrow morning: however, I would not let this post go away without telling your Lordship thus much, and adding, for your better light, that I find the Prince infinitely satisfied with the States dispositions and carriage in this whole transaction, since I came over; and that I left the Duke so violently bent upon a war with *France*, that he told the King publicly at the foreign committee, in my hearing, the day before I came away, after repeating several circumstances of the *French* ill usage and intention towards him, that nothing could be more evident, than the *French* design of an universal monarchy; that nothing but *England* could hinder it; and that his Majesty, without engaging in it, would hazard his own crown and safety, as well as that of *Christendom*.

I am ever,

Your Lordship's most faithful

humble servant

W. Temple.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, July 25. N. S. 1678.

THOUGH the other letter be of a later date, yet, upon perusal again, I found some things in it that might be proper enough for your Lordship to know, and so I am content to let it go. I shall only here give your Lordship joy of this negotiation achieved under your ministry; which is by all on this side esteemed a much greater than another, whereon I have known some former Ministers in *England* value themselves very much, tho' not very long. That which may possibly make this the more acceptable to his Majesty, is the evidence of so much art and industry, with which the *French* have of late used all the practices imaginable to gain this State; upon the belief whereof I doubt, they have not considered us the more, or used us the better. For, I do not find, that the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, took any notice of Sir *Lionel Jenkins* in the delivery of their late memorial there; or that he came to be possessed of it otherwise than from the *Dutch* Ambassadors. And since I came over, Monsieur *d'Estrades* has written several letters to the towns of *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Dort*, and *Leyden*, to persuade them, that the Prince of *Orange* and his friends will have no peace: and the Pensioner has surpris'd an original letter from Monsieur *Louvois* to Monsieur *d'Estrades*; by which he bids him tell those of his correspondents in *Holland*, from whom the last advice came, that in case they gave him no better, he would certainly stop their pensions. The best on't is, the sore seems to be broken, and to have run out so, as to leave the body more healthful than before: and if God bless the Prince in this one enterprize of *Mons*, he will be greater here than ever any of his ancestors were: I suppose, one good fruit
more

more may arise from this affair ; which is, that I do not believe any man who sees the course of my dispatches, can think there are any more tricks in the business ; nor do I see why men should be sick any longer of that imaginary disease in *England*, after they are cured here. And if the cure should be wrought at a time in both places, the world is safe, let the war go on ; if not, it may be lost still : and I know not whether I shall have charity enough to pray God forgive them that prove the occasion of it. How all this is received in Court or country, I should be glad to know from your Lordship : for, after all the compliments made me here upon it, I am from thence to judge what I may have deserved by the infinite, perpetual trouble and application it has forced me upon since I came over.

I send your Lordship a copy inclosed of my dispatch this day to Mr. Secretary ; which Mr *Meredith* resolves first to put into your Lordship's hands : and whatever other observances you can receive from him, I am sure will be rendered to your Lordship there and here, upon this and all other occasions : since he can have learned nothing else, in the house of a person that is, and ever shall be, with a constant and equal passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To

To the KING.

Hague, July 25. N. S. 1678.

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING since my coming last over, not only drawn all things here to a head, but this day reduced them into form, and signed a treaty with the States, according to my instructions, upon their consent to all the four points given me in charge; I presume your Majesty will find it as much to your satisfaction, as all persons here believe it to the honour and greatness of your crown: which is all I shall say upon a subject, wherein I have had so much part myself. However, you will not, I hope, be displeased to know, that this affair so ended, has left the Prince of Orange, in his own opinion, a happy man; and in all others here, a great Prince once more: this state being more fallen in than ever with his Highness, and both of them more than ever into a dependance upon your Majesty. I pray God, you may use so great a conjuncture, so as may be most for your own glory and felicity, as well as those of your crowns; and then I have my end and my reward.

Having charged Mr. *Meredith*, your Majesty's Secretary of the embassy here, with the delivery of the treaty, and my dispatch to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*; I could not but give him this occasion of laying himself at your Majesty's feet, and ask your pardon for the long troubles I have been forced to give your Majesty, since my arrival here; as well as assure you at the same time, that no man alive can be with a sin-

386 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

cerer truth or greater devotion, than I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

your Majesty's most loyal,

and most obedient

subject and servant.

To Mr. Hyde.

My Lord,

Hague, July 29. N.S. 1678.

I Heard by your servants here, that you were grown to be so ill at Court, as to be gone down into the country to a scurvy piece of land you had bought there; and I, like a true courtier, upon this news, would not take the pains to write to a man whose affairs went so ill: but for fear my intelligence should prove as false as what Monsieur *d'Estrades* had received of late from *Amsterdam*; and that you should not only be well at Court still, but the land you went to see, should prove to be one of the best manors of *England*; I could no longer omit assuring your Excellency of my humble services, and of the joy wherewith I shall either obey your commands here, or receive your protection at *Nimeguen*, as his Majesty's order shall either keep me in this place, or call us both thither; of which I have yet no certain prospect.

Now I have made you my scurvy compliments, if you please, we will leave them all off; and in the common stile of friends, I will first tell you, that I have had the good luck to end the business with which his Majesty charged me here, extremely to the Prince of *Orange's* satisfaction, and as much to that of the States; excepting some few, who, by shewing their discontent at it, have discovered themselves to be too

too plainly and too deep in the *French* interest, to be looked upon any longer as dealers here. Now, I would be glad to know from you, as a friend, and not as a Minister, what is said or thought of it at Court and whether they continue in the mind I left them; or what points the wind may have tacked about since; and what my Lord *Sunderland*'s business at present is into *France*: which is the great subject of talk and reflexions here. I would be glad likewise to know your conjectures there, whether *France* will come to the peace or no, without refusing any longer to evacuate the towns, which is the present wager current at *Amsterdam*; and my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, according to the lights of *Nimeguen*, was absolutely of opinion yesterday they would.

There never was so desolate a place as the *Hague* at this time: and yet I was content the Prince should go because I never saw any body go in so good humour, as both he and all about him, upon the conclusion made here the night before; by which his friends take him to make a greater figure than ever he did since he came to the government: but this will depend in some measure too, upon the figure he will make in *Flanders*; where I have no very good opinion of the relief of *Mons*, upon the joining of Mareschal *Humieres* and *Schomberg* with the Duke of *Luxemburg*: of all which you will sooner receive an account by *Flanders* than from hence, where we have had, since *Monday* last, a perfect vacation of all affairs; so that you shall have no farther trouble beyond the assurances of my being ever, and truly,

your, &c.

I gave Mr. *Meredith* order to wait upon you from me, and to give you any accounts you desired of all that had passed here.

To

To Mr. Godolphin,

SIR,

Hague, July 29. N. S. 1678.

I Had not time to write to you by Mr. *Meredith*, which was due not only to you, but to the inclosure of a letter the Prince had given me for you, upon the assurance, that I intended to write to you by that dispatch. All I could do then, was to order Mr. *Meredith* to wait upon you particularly from me; and both assure you of my service, and give you any account you cared for being troubled with, of my late negotiation here. I knew you were so much a friend of the Prince, as to be glad of what he was so much pleased, and all about him so exalted with here; because they never took him to be in so great credit or authority, as upon the conclusion of this business; and thereby the dependance of this State being wholly cast upon *England*, which was just upon the point of being thrown into *France*: and thereby leaving the Prince in such a figure, as I believe would have broke his heart, if it had proved without remedy. What you say or think of it on that side, I am yet to know, and whether you continue in the mind I left you, or how the weather has changed. And though you promised to have my statue set up, if I could bring this State to take their measures with us before we had declared the war, especially upon the point of prohibiting commerce; yet after that and all other points attained perfectly to his Majesty's mind, I will only expect that you keep me from being hanged up in effigy; if all should be changed, and my Lord *Sunderland* should have more to do in *France*, than I have here. This is the present subject of wise talk in this place; and, as both Mr. *Hyde* and you concluded with me at my coming away, that one great ground of the ill and hasty paces made here of late to a peace,

was,

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 389

was, the belief they were in of ours in *England*; so, I believe, you will conclude with me, that if we let this knot slip but once more, it is never to be retrieved again; and they will run into *France* without any stop, upon a disdain of all our conduct in *England*, and the despair of our proving constant to their interest, or our own. In short, the King is once more at the head of all the affairs in *Christendom*: what use he will make of it is in his own hands and those of his Ministers and servants that are about him. Among whom, as I know no man that wishes better at heart to his Majesty and his kingdoms, than you do; so, I am sure, no man can wish better to you, in all points, than I do; nor more desire the occasions of expressing the sincere truth and passion, as well as esteem, wherewith I am and shall be always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Hague, August 1. N. S. 1678.

SInce my arrival here, I have had the hardest pinch of business that ever befel me in my life. I have concluded and signed a treaty between his Majesty and the States; by which he is obliged to enter into the war, and they to continue it, and not make peace without much greater conditions, if *France* does not agree to those the States accepted (about a month since) by the 11th of this month. The Prince would not stir till this treaty was signed, believing all his own interests, and the greatest of the Crown of *England*, to depend upon it. After it was done, he went away immediately to the army; a great Prince in all others opinions, and a happy one in his own; which he had been

been far from in both for some months past. The *French* have used all the artifices imaginable, to hinder these measures between us, and to take them separately with this State, in our exclusion, and even that of the Prince of *Orange*. Their last was two days since, by a memorial of their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, offering, that the King of *France* would advance himself as far as *St. Quintin*, to meet any Deputies the States would send thither, and treat with them in person. The States having yesterday considered with me upon it, have refused the offer; desired a positive answer upon evacuating the places in *Flanders*, and let the *French* Ambassadors know, they should not be many days *en leur entier* to receive it. This is a strange change of style in the world, and the King is once more at the head of affairs in *Christendom*. What use we shall make of this conjuncture, is in the stars: your Grace and I will not venture to guess, considering how well we know our Court: but I am sure, we shall join in our wishes; and mine shall ever be, for the good health and good fortunes that your Grace can propose to yourself; since no man can be with greater passion nor truth, than I am, and shall be ever,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Williamfon.

SIR,

Hague, August 1. N. S. 1678.

YESTERDAY, about noon, came an express from Sir Lionel Jenkins, bringing me the inclosed memorial, inviting the States to send their Deputies to *St. Quintin*, in *Picardy*; where his Most Christian Majesty, will in person meet with them. I looked upon it as a resolution in *France* grounded upon advices from hence;

hence ; as believing that so great a condescension as this of his Most Christian Majesty, could not but give new life to Monsieur *Pats*, and his party. That the effect of it would be, to draw this State into a negotiation, not only separate from all their allies, but even from all offices, or intervention, of his Majesty, as Mediator ; and make way for some of the considerable persons of this State to take particular measures with the Court of *France*.

This morning Monsieur *Van Lewen* was with me, and we discoursed of this new memorial. He said, the thing seemed of the same piece with all that had come of late from *France* ; and to be all but an amusement, while he pursued the taking of *Mons*, and the hopes that this State would still fall into some expedient, in the point of evacuating the places. That he was of opinion, the States would make some reflexion upon this new offer ; particularly the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* having said to the States, that, by this way of treating, affairs might be more advanced in twenty-four hours, than in as many days by other hands. He told me, that the States General had resolved, that their Commissioners for secret affairs should come to me, and ask my opinion upon this new proposition ; which he (Monsieur *Van Lewen*) desired to know before-hand.

I told him, I was sure sending to *St. Quintin* could do no good ; since, if they were resolved, as he said they were, to insist upon the evacuation of the towns, without farther expedient, that might be better done at *Nimeguen*. That besides, it would be less respect to a great King, to draw him so far in person, only to receive a peremptory message from them, without instructions to treat, or fall into temperaments upon it. That thirdly, since before the treaty signed with his Majesty, they had resolved not to send to *Paris*, nor *Ghent*, I thought, since the treaty concluded, they could

could not send to *St. Quintin*, and thereby exclude his Majesty from any part in the negotiation, either as Mediator, or otherwise, without his Majesty's consent; which could not be had but by sending into *England*, since I had no instructions upon this new incident. That this could not be performed within the time prefixed in the treaty, of the 11th of this month: and, therefore, my opinion was, that they should answer this memorial by another short one from their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, expressing, that they should come to no new negotiations, without the communication and consent of his Majesty, with whom they had entered into measures upon the late incident in the negotiation of the peace. I told Monsieur *Van Lewen*, that this was *le grand & le beau chemin*; and that I did not see how they could take any other, considering their ties to his Majesty and *Spain*, who had joined them in accepting the peace.

Monsieur *Van Lewen* fell in with my opinion, but could not pretend to guess what the advice of the several towns would be upon it: after this he left me. I then began to reflect, what issue this affair would have had, in case the treaty had not been signed before it came; which it must not have been if I had first received your orders of the 16th current; by which I found his Majesty insisted upon the prohibition of commerce to be made a part of the treaty, by particular article, or convention; which the Prince, Pensioner, and Commissioners told me, could not be any ways hoped for from the Province of *Holland*, so as upon it the treaty must, of necessity, have demurred; which imported as much as the whole issue of this negotiation, in case it had not been concluded before the Prince left this place.

While I was in these last thoughts, and had pursued my letter as far as this last period, I received

yours

yours of the 11th, upon the late treaty's having been produced before his Majesty, at a foreign committee, with so many faults laid to my charge in this transaction, that I have reason to be as much mortified as you can wish me; though you are pleased to say, some of the faults you find are without present order.

The three chief points you have orders to except to, and to desire a change, or elucidation upon them, I will answer as well as I can.

As to that of commerce; I was left by the large period upon it in my instructions, to more liberty than I have taken; and the Prince, Pensioner, and Commissioners all assured me, it was not to be gained, by convention, before-hand; but would certainly follow upon this resolution of the States, and last as long as the war: and the Prince took upon him to hinder the failing of it from the Emperor, or *Spain*; though that clause was put in to keep them up to the rigour of the said prohibition.

For that of the concert of the forces, I told you the Commissioners said, it would be agreed to in very few days here: and I charged my Secretary to let you know, that they had agreed upon it, by provision, in that very number of land forces I had before mentioned: and I resolved, upon the return of the Pensioner here to town, to come to a specification between us of them, both at land and sea; so that I could never have imagined this as an omission; since I was tied to nothing in my instructions, farther than the proportions of three to two.

For that of the restriction to *Europe*, I must confess it a fault, since you say it is found so: but I told you then, it was a point I had no light given me in at all from you or any body else in *England*: that all the practices I had ever had there, confirmed me in it, as

well as the Pensioner, who told me, this State had never made any treaty that extended beyond *Europe*.

Thus, I confess, I thought I had followed my instructions, upon all these points, and did not act with so much punctilious caution as I ought, it may be, to have done; for the conjuncture was so critical, and to be concluded before the Prince's going, or else to be lost, which was to decide whether this State should fall into a dependance upon *England* or *France*.

This is a point the *French* value, and pursue at another rate, of which there needs no other testimony than this *demarche* of *St. Quintin*.

But, since the greatest service I could ever hope to do his Majesty, or the crown of *England*, proves to be a fault, I humbly ask his Majesty's pardon; and shall learn hereafter to tie myself as strictly to my orders, as a clerk of the office ought to do, since I find so severe a lash hang over me: though I am, I confess, of opinion, that no Prince, or State, can ever tie up so strictly, either a General, or an Ambassador; or give them reason to act in perpetual fear, without losing the greatest occasions in the world, either in treaties, or in war. And so I end this unpleasant subject, and am, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S. I. R., Hague, August 2. N. S. 1678.

LAST night I acquainted the Pensioner with what had passed between me and the Commissioners, and the resolution we were come to; which was, that it was not fit to send to *St. Quintin*, and they could not do it without the participation of *England*.

He said, it was very well; and that this artifice of *France*, as it was the last, so it was the greatest; and that

that we had but this blow to ward: that if our treaty had not been concluded, he should have been in pain, but did not fear now; and said, the States of *Holland* were to assemble upon it this morning.

This morning at five I received a letter from the Prince, expressing the greatest pain in the world upon this last memorial at *Nimeguen*; desiring me to do all that was possible to hinder any deputation to *St. Quintin* or *Ghent*, and to speak myself to all persons here, that I thought would be inclined to it. At five the Pensioner came to me, and gave me an account of the resolution being taken both in the States of *Holland*, and after in the States General, upon the *French* memorial: that they could not send to *St. Quintin* or *Ghent*, having nothing at all to propose: that they desired the *French* answer, positive, upon the point of evacuating the places, and signing the peace: that they should not be many days *en leur entier* to receive it: and this to be sent to the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, with a private letter to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, to let them know, that the 11th of this month was the last day they should be able to attend their answer.

He told me, all this was agreed unanimously at last; though some insisted long upon writing a letter to the Most Christian King; but not that itself, without first asking my consent to it; deferring as much as was possible to the measures they had taken with *England*.

He was in so good humour upon this occasion, that I thought I could never have a better, to put him upon giving his Majesty the satisfaction you desire in those points of the treaty: and so I pressed him upon it in the way you order me.

Upon the first of commerce, his answer was, *Qu'il étoit impossible de le faire par convention, mais qu'il étoit aussi impossible que cela pût manquer pendant la guerre, & qu'il*

qu'il m'en assureroit, cette resolution des États ne pouvant être changée sans une nouvelle; Et il pouvoit toujours empêcher cette nouvelle resolution.

For the concert of forces, he said, that by the 11th of this month, when we should see whether it were war or peace, the States would enter with me into a specification of forces for sea and land; and that he thought forty ships would be the utmost that they should furnish at present: that according as occasion should happen, there would be other concerts hereafter.

For the third, for the *garantie mutuelle* beyond *Europe*, he said, that he would not say positively, that in the treaty, according as you alledged, there was not such a clause, because of the extremity they were in when *Spain* engaged with them; but confessed he had told me, this State never engaged beyond *Europe*: that if it were so, he would use all the endeavours he could to have it done: but considering the strength and populousness of our plantations, and the weakness of the *French*, he could not believe but that we should beat them wholly out of the *West Indies*.

He then desired me, with the greatest earnestness in the world, that I would represent to his Majesty the stopping, and thereby spoiling so great an affair, by any difficulties in such points as these. That he would write to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* to that purpose, if it were not that I told him, how his Majesty kept the whole as a secret to all but him and the Prince. That, for their part, their ratifications would be ready on *Thursday* next.

His Majesty has the whole matter before him; and I desire my instructions may be clear and positive; which I shall not fail of obeying.

I am, &c.,

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, August 2. N. S. 1678.

I Will not trouble your Lordship with any thing that goes in my dispatch this post to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, because I know you have your share in it. I will only tell you, that after all the applauses have been given me here upon the perfection of the last treaty, and among all the accounts given this last post from *England*, of his Majesty's and the general satisfaction upon it there; I received a letter from Secretary *Williamson*, that found twenty faults with it, and allows nothing in it that was good. I was the more surpris'd, because your Lordship had let me know the post before, that every thing stood upon the same foot it did when I left *England*; and I had observed, that our forces were since come over into *Flanders*; by which, and by the *French* demarches here and at *Nimwegen*, where they take no notice of his Majesty's mediation in all that passes between them and the *Dutch*, I concluded all confidence irreparably broke between us and *France*; especially the usage of our troops there, succeeding their instances about disbanding them at home. All this considered, I could not imagine there could have been no good in a treaty that drew the dependance of this State wholly from *France*, and cast it upon *England*, in such a conjuncture, and about which his Majesty was so solicitous when I left him. I concluded, this must be personal in Secretary *Williamson*; and I have written to him accordingly, and justified myself; as, I am sure, if there was a fault, it must have been in the lameness of his instructions, which no Ambassador can act by, and upon which I call Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Godolphin*, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to witness; and your Lordship too, upon this single period in his last instructions the post before last, upon the
the

the time of our declaring the war, which I was much prest about here, and was fain to fence off as I could. His words are these, of July 16th. "*As to the time of his Majesty's declaring the war, that, you know, is to be taken upon the time of the signing the treaty; and not at all to depend on the time set for the French's refusal of this farther offer, otherwise than as that shall relate to the concluding of the proposed treaty between his Majesty and Holland*". My Secretary and I were both very long busy, not to find out the sense, but his own meaning of it, and were fain to give it absolutely over, which happened to me so often, that it is nothing new from that hand. These lashes and mortifications are as little so too, having very often befallen me from him; but never once from my Lord *Arlington*, Secretary *Trevor*, or Secretary *Coventry*, in ten years service under their correspondence. I should be very glad to know from your Lordship, whether I am mistaken or no, in believing this usage personal from him: for, if it be from his Majesty, I shall take it for another sign, and make another use of it. In the mean time, I beg your Lordship to take care, that my instructions my be clear hereafter, or, at least, intelligible; for I am resolved to do nothing without them, let what will happen. One thing more I beg your Lordship to get altered by his Majesty's command; which is, that I may have constant advice from one of the Secretary's office, of all that passes in *England*; at least, what can relate to affairs here. I believe, no Ambassador before ever failed of at least a paper of occurrences every post; and, in all the time I have been here, I have not received one line; so that I knew neither of my Lord *Sunderland's* going, my Lord *Feversham's*, nor the Marquis *Burgomaine's*, otherwise than by the Deputies or other Ministers here; much less of *du Cros's* overture in *England*, that the towns should be restored by *France*, in case this State would

would give their guaranty, that none of the allies should assist the enemies of *Sweden*. I mention this because, though it be as impracticable as other things of that kind, that have come from *France*, yet it has made a great buz among half-witted people here, when it came to be considered upon this last memorial of the *French*, whether any expedient could be offered by *France* in the point of evacuating the towns.

The wise conclude all to be artifice, and never a greater, than this offer of the Most Christian King, to come in person to *St. Quintin*, to meet and treat with the Deputies of this State. They consider the consequence of such a King's cajoling, or his Ministers corrupting any that should go; but chiefly of amusing these people so far as to break the times, and thereby the measures concluded with us. They believe the bottom of all to be the amusing either us, or *Holland*, till upon the approach of winter, and the *German* armies going into quarters, they may draw all their forces out of *Germany*, and make one push for the conquest of *Flanders*. In the mean time, that which is sown by them here with such industry, is first, that nothing can defend this State and country from all its neighbours, but *France*; nor, consequently, give them perpetual peace and trade: then, that *France* can never have any design upon their liberty, because they can make more use of their men and ships, while they are great and flourishing, than they can do by their growing weak and poor; which must follow the conquering and suppressing their liberties. Then, that they are no rival to them in trade, which *England* is, and must ever be; and that all the danger to their liberties, is, from his Majesty and the Prince of *Orange*, upon concert between them, in relation to *England* and this country: and now, lastly, upon this incident at *Nimeguen*, they say, it all arose only upon a visit made by Count *Oxenstern* to the *French* Ambassadors, when they

400 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

they were ready to sign the peace; desiring them, it might not be done without a provision for *Sweden*; and that no surprize could be greater, than that of the King of *France*, when he heard the peace was delayed by that incident. In short, they are extreme sensible of having made a horrible ill pace, and would fain recover it, but find it very difficult, and, I believe, will not be able, unless we help them, which, whether we shall or no, your Lordship best knows.

I send you the last *French* memorial in print; for the same day they communicated it to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, they dispersed numerous printed copies among all these Provinces. I send your Lordship likewise a peculiar printed sort of *Gazette*, which comes out every post, but only into few and particular hands; but this is the shrewdest pen, and the best informed that ever I met with.

I am ever,

with the same passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

I am very well content his Majesty may see this letter, and judge upon it, how I am like to serve him in the circumstances I stand with the Secretary's office.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, August 5. N. S. 1678.

THE Pensioner having been with me, I have discoursed him upon the points which you said his Majesty would have insisted upon; and he promises all the best offices to bring them about; but said, that

that his Majesty would not be much concerned for the amendments in these points, if it were a peace; which, for his part, he did not at all doubt of; and therefore desired me to endeavour, that nothing might be stirred before the ratification, upon which he took the peace to depend. I asked him, what made him think so? He replied, he would tell me in confidence, that Monsieur *Sylvercroon* had been with him the day before, to let him know, that the *Swedish* Ambassadors had written to the *French* King, to desire him not to hinder the peace of *Christendom* any longer, by insisting upon the restitution of *Sweden* before the evacuation of the towns; and that they expected an answer from *France* upon it within two or three days. That hereupon, he, the Pensioner concluded, *France* was resolved to make the peace, and evacuate the towns; for, he was very sure, *France* and *Sweden* understood one another; that the last made no pace without the direction and consent of the other. He said, Monsieur *Sylvercroon* had spoken to him of it, as a thing done; and said upon it, that he hoped now the peace was made, and that this State would not *acroche* it upon the neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. That he, the Pensioner had told him, that was a point the State had come to no resolution in, but only to order their Ambassadors at *Nimwegen*, to use all the most pressing offices they could with the *French* Ambassadors upon it; but that there were four of the Provinces resolved not to have the peace without it; and, for his part, he would cry against it all he could. He desired to know his Majesty's thoughts upon it, and that I would write and represent to his Majesty the importance of this matter; and that, in the mean time, the peace must take its course without it.

About nine o'clock this morning arrived Mr. *Meredith* with new instructions from his Majesty, grounded upon an intimation of Monsieur *du Cros*, as is there

expressed. Soon after Monsieur *du Cros* himself came to me, and told me the whole story of his proposition. He enlarged upon his Majesty's great bounty to the Crown of *Sweden*, by yielding to every one of the points which he had proposed to his Majesty in his memorial; and concluded with the joy he should have in seeing me so soon at *Nimeguen*, to second the assurances he was to give the *Swedish* Ambassadors upon this occasion.

I told him, that the intentions of his journey and mine, had already been prevented by the *Swedish* Ambassadors having of themselves made that pace towards the peace, which he pretended to bring them to by his Majesty's concessions. Upon this, Monsieur *du Cros* looked extremely surpris'd; but recovering himself, said, he did believe the letters he writ to the *French* Ambassadors, the post before he came away, might have had that effect, as to make them do the thing before he came: but it was *dans la vëue de quelque chose qu'ils esperoient d'Angleterre*: but, by comparing times, I found that could not be.

He seem'd very unresolv'd upon all these discourses, whether he should go to *Nimeguen*, or not; and asked me, what I intended to do? I answer'd, I should not resolve to stir, without first giving an account to Court of the matter as it stood. So we parted, and he went about five this afternoon towards *Nimeguen*.

I cannot but take notice, that some of his Majesty's concessions in *du Cros's* memorial, are of as great importance as can be to the Crown of *England*: as the third and fourth, concerning the liberty not only of levying our mariners and soldiers, but of buying our ships and men of war.

What effect Monsieur *du Cros's* discourses may have here, I cannot tell, as to the peace; but as to his Majesty's measures and intentions to it, they have, I am sure, had a very ill one. For my part, I neither understand

derstand the councils upon which they were grounded, nor will pretend to judge of the event.

About seven in the afternoon, I spoke with the Pensioner again, and communicated to him my new instructions. He said, there would be no difficulty as to the neutrality of the enemies of *Sweden*, nor as to those of the allies, who accepted not the peace with *France*. Then, he said, the State had sent to *Nimeguen* their answer, by which they could not send to *St. Quintin*; and upon the communication of it to the *French*, Monsieur Colbert had fallen into the greatest *emportement* in the world, and particularly against Monsieur *Beverning*.

Sir *Lionel Jenkins* writes me word, that the *French* take so little notice of his Majesty's mediation there, that he has not heard one syllable from them since they gave him their conditions of the 14 of *April*. I send Mr. *Aglionby* away with this dispatch, considering the importance of it: besides, that this Gentleman having attended the whole motion of this affair ever since my coming over, will be able to give his Majesty a very particular account of all the steps that have been made in it, and of all that can be known from this scene.

I am ever, &c.

From Pensioner Fagel. De par le Pensionnaire Fagel.

Hague, August 6. 1678. A la Haye, le 6 Aoust 1678.

S I R,

Monſieur,

HAVING well considered the orders which your Excellence communicated to me by direction of the King your Master, and knowing, that this State will never put the
issue

Ayant consideré les ordres que vôtre Excellence m'a communiquée de la part du Roy vôtre Maître & voyant que cet Etat n'a-
crochera

issue of the peace upon the foot of the neutrality of *Cleves*; and, that you have no orders in this point from the King your Master: that this State will not carry on the war with vigour, without the exceeding unreasonableness of *France* in refusing to evacuate the places, be made appear, as it will when *Sweden* has consented to it: that the King your Master also will not concur in carrying it on but on this condition, as appears plainly by this step, and by the difficulties which your Court have made to ratify the treaty, without such alterations as can never be consented to here: that *du Cros* is well acquainted with your instructions: and, that *Sylvercroon* has already published what they are here, as the other is going to do at *Nimeguen*; and that, perhaps, with some circumstances worse than they really contain: that *Sweden* seeming willing already to bate something of their pretensions, and *France* therefore appearing desirous to make the peace: it is for the service of this State to owe the doing of it rather to *England*, which will serve to continue and strengthen our mutual obligations after the peace; which is a matter of the last consequence to the interests of his Majesty, of this State, and of the Prince. For all these reasons, I think it absolutely

crochera pas la paix sur la neutralité de Cleves, & que vous n'avez pas aucun ordre là dessus de la part du Roy votre Maître; que cet Etat ne soutiendra pas la guerre avec vigueur, sans que la France soit mise dans son dernier tort par les refus d'évacuer les places, ce qu'arrivera quand la Suede y aura consenti: que la Roy votre Maître ne le fera pas aussi sans cela, comme il paroît par cette demarche, & par les difficultez que votre Cour a fait de ratifier le traité, sans des changemens qu'on ne peut pas faire icy: que du Cros a scû votre dépêche, & que Sylvercroon l'a déjà débité icy comme l'autre va faire à Nimegue, & avec de circonstances pût être plus mauvaises qu'il ne contient: que la Suede semblant déjà se deporter de leurs pretensions, & par là, la France paroissant de vouloir faire la paix, il sera bon que cet Etat aye encore cette obligation à l'Angleterre, ce qui servira à continuer les liaisons entre nous apres la paix, qui est une chose de la dernière importance pour les intérêts de sa Majesté, cet Etat,

lutely necessary for the general good of *Christendom*, and for the common interest of each nation, that your Excellence should without delay repair to *Nimeguen*, according to the orders you have received.

I am

Your Excellency's most

humble and most

obedient servant,

Gasp. Fagel.

tat, & le Prince. Je croy pour toutes ces raisons, qu'il est absolument nécessaire, tant pour le bien commun de la Chrétienté, que pour leurs intérêts, que vôtre Excellence parte au plutôt pour *Nimegue*, ensuite des ordres qu'elle a reçeu.

Je suis,

de V. E. le tres

humble & tres

obeïssant serviteur,

Gasp. Fagel.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Nimeguen, August 9. N. S. 1678.

IN humble obedience to his Majesty's expresse commands, I, Sir *William Temple*, came hither at seven a clock last night: immediately, upon my arrival, Monsieur de *Balba* sent to know, whether he might make me a visit, which I consented to, and he came accordingly.

His discourse consisted of his hopes, that I brought a good peace along with me; his desires to hear, whether the treaty at the *Hague* were ratified or no; and his complaints, that the *French*, notwithstanding the *Swedes* having desisted, yet still refused to sign the peace. That, for his part, he could not be sorry for it; for tho' he should have signed it, if they had consented, yet, after having signed a peace so destructive to *Christendom*,

Christendom, he should have retired himself from all public business for the rest of his life.

Upon the enquiring the occasion of my coming, I told him, as I have done every body else, that having been assured at the *Hague*, that the *Swedes* here having desisted from their pretensions of being restored before the evacuation of the places; and the *French* having always professed that difficulty to have been raised wholly upon their occasion; I made no question but the peace would be immediately signed; and thereupon came hither upon his Majesty's orders, that I should be present at the conclusion of it.

Upon the Marquis's going out, my colleague Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* came in to me; and being surpris'd at the unexpectedness of my arrival, and I asking him whether he knew nothing of it? he said, nothing, but from the talk of a confident man lately arrived here; who had given out, he had brought the peace in his pocket, and orders for Sir *William Temple* to come with him to *Nimeguen*.

Hereupon, I shewed my colleague my instructions, which you last sent me, grounded upon Monsieur *du Cros's* proposition: he told me the thing was done before I came: that the *Swedes* had not only desisted from their pretensions; but that the *French* had owned it in their memorial on *Sunday* last, and declared, that upon it their master desisted from detaining the towns: but, however, that he, my colleague, did not find the peace was much the nearer, since the *French* Ambassadors did still refuse to sign it; and persisted, that the *Dutch* should send to treat and conclude it, either with the King their master in person, or with the Deputies at *Ghent*: whereupon, consulting with my colleague, we concluded together, that we should not say any thing to the *Swedish* Ambassadors of what your last instructions imported, unless they spoke to me of it, and seemed to expect it from me; in regard that
whatever

whatever his Majesty intended should be done by the *Swedes*, towards the evacuation of the towns, had been already fully done by them: and that no declaration of his Majesty's instructions to me was meant, or could tend to this new difficulty raised by *France*, about the *Dutch* deputing to the Most Christian King, or to his Deputies at *Ghent*.

The next visit I received was at nine this morning from the *Danish* Ambassador, whose discourse was chiefly upon the occasion of my journey hither; upon the ground it may give to the *Dutch*, of receiving otherwise this proposal from *France*, than they might possibly have done if I had been at the *Hague*; upon the liberty Monsieur *du Cros* had taken here, of proning the instructions he brought from his Majesty, and the credit he had at our Court; which he, the Ambassador, thought very strange, considering what he passed for at theirs, where he was sufficiently known. And thereupon he gave me a character of the man, which I will not trouble you with.

After the *Dane's* leaving me, the *Swedish* Ambassadors came in: their discourse consisted in valuing the generous pace they had made, of desisting from their pretensions, since those alone seemed so much to retard the peace.

They said, that though they reckoned upon the good offices of *Holland*, after the peace, as well as upon the assistances of *France* towards their restitution; yet their chief confidence was in the good intentions of his Majesty towards their Crown; of which they had received so good testimonies upon all occasions.

Hereupon they began to discourse of the last *French* memorial; and made their particular reflexions upon two passages in it. The first, that *France* seemed to intend that they, the *Swedes*, should owe their restitution to the measures that *France* should take with *Holland*

land upon that occasion; whereas their chief hopes were from his Majesty; and they had very little from *Holland*, beside their common offices, after the peace was made. The next was from the last words of the memorial; by which it appears, that *France* intended to treat and conclude the peace with the Deputies of the States, in a place where there was like to be no Minister from *Sweden*; which, they say, they did not very well understand; nor thought they had reason to be satisfied with what the *French* Ambassadors told them upon it, that the King their master's intention was, the peace should be signed at *Nimeguen*, though it were concluded at *St. Quintin*.

All that I answered to these discourses, was my compliments upon the declaration they had made, of desisting from their pretensions, rather than hindering the peace of *Christendom*; and the assurances that I had orders to give them, of his Majesty's good intentions towards their Crown. And here our discourse was like to end; when I resolved to make some mention of Monsieur *du Cros*, to find out what they would say upon it: and what the true ground had been of his journey and mine hither.

I told them, that I was in hopes to have found the peace ready to be signed here when I came. For, besides the assurances the Pensioner had given me and Monsieur *Sylvercroon*, at the *Hague*, of their Excellencies having desisted from their pretensions, which had diffculted the peace: I heard, that Monsieur *du Cros* had said upon the way hither, that he carried the peace in his pocket, and that he brought express orders to them, the *Swedes* Ambassadors, which they had not before.

Monsieur *Oxenstern* said, very gravely, to this, *Assurement nous n'avons pas agi par des ordres qui nous ont été portés par Mr. du Cros*: but Monsieur *Olivcrans*

crans, smiling, said, *Monfieur, pour ce qui est de la vanité, il faut pardonner à Monsieur du Gros; puisque vous sçavez qu'il est garçon.* I told them hereupon, that Monsieur du Gros had told both me and Monsieur Sylvercroon, that the declaration made by the Swedish Ambassadors here, had been grounded upon the assurances that his Majesty had given particularly to Monsieur du Gros, in England. Monsieur Olivecrans replied a little warmly, *Monfieur, vous me pardonneras, cela a été fondé sur les assurances que le Roy m'a donné devant que de partir de Londres.*

By these lights, I suppose, you will be able to unriddle better than I can do here, what hath been the true bottom of all this intrigue.

After the Swedes left me, the Dutch Ambassadors came in; and presently after them as we had concerted together, came I Sir Lyonell Jenkins. They fell presently into discourse of the last French memorial; in which, they said, they could find little more than in the former, but that it was a transposition of words. For, whereas they had said before, they would not evacuate the towns, without restitution to Sweden: they now say, they will evacuate the towns; but they will first treat and agree with the Dutch about the satisfaction of Sweden.

They said the first period was clear, and that upon it they offered to sign the peace: but the French refused, saying, that though their memorial consisted of three periods, yet they were to be taken, *pour une chose, toute d'une suite.*

The next remark they made, was upon the words *toutes les places*, in the first period. Which word *toutes*, they found, upon search, never to have been in any of their memorials, or letters, before. And they observed the meaning of it might be, that though they desisted from the design of retaining all the places, yet they

did not from that of retaining some of them : and the words, if you please to observe them, seem to bear it.

Monsieur *Beverning* said farther, that when he offered to sign the peace, and said that they should not be many days longer at liberty, *à cause de leurs engagements* : the *French* replied, *vous, vous fiez à vos engagements, Messieurs ; Et le Roy a deux cent mille hommes qu'il a bien payé.* They told them farther, that his Majesty hath such treaties with *France*, that would keep him from performing *ce que Monsieur Temple a stipulé à la Haye.* Whereto Monsieur *Colbert* added, *et pourquoy Monsieur Temple ne vient il pas ? il a les ordres du Roy son Maître de revenir icy, aussi ne fait il à la Haye que du mal.*

After they concluded that the design of *France* was to draw this business into a particular negotiation, between them and the States ; without either the *Swede* of the one side, or their allies of the other ; and without *England* too ; and by that means to hinder them from the assistance either of their allies or of us. That by these memorials about deputations to *France*, and by their artifices in scattering copies of them as soon as they were delivered, they hoped to prevent the measures between us and *Holland* ; and to draw out time while they pursued the siege of *Mons*, and while *England* should grow weary of keeping up their forces ; which they knew a Parliament would not be willing to pay for a peace, though they would for a war. Mr. *Haran* added, *il n'y a personne si aveugle qui ne voit tous ces artifices.* They both wished very much that I Sir *William Temple* were now at the *Hague*, because they doubted what effect this memorial of *France* might have upon them there ; when they should see in the first period of it, a declaration of the *French* to evacuate the towns, but not consider that which follows.

The

The first visit I Sir *William Temple* received this afternoon was from Count *Kinski*; whose chief discourse was in extolling the force of *England*, which had appeared so much in his Majesty's late arming so powerfully, in so short a time; saying, that if the King pleased he was arbiter of the world; and might be so of this peace here, if he thought fit.

That for their part (meaning the *Imperial* Ambassadors) in it, all that he would say, was, that they were sent thither *pour traiter, & non pas pour recevoir des loix*; but that the *French* understood it otherwise; and that nothing had passed between them, since the *French* published the conditions upon which they would make the peace, in the beginning of *April* last: since which time they had often offered to treat upon them, but the *French* excused themselves; and, for their parts, they were resolved not to receive those conditions without treating upon them.

Next to Count *Kinski* came to me the *Brandenburg* Ambassadors, whose discourses were either compliment, or politic upon the affairs of *Holland*: how near the Prince was being absolutely lost there about three months ago; and how much he was recovered since this last incident from *France*, about the evacuating of the towns.

The next hours of five, six, and seven, this afternoon, were given to the three *French* Ambassadors, who had been the last to demand it of me; having been yesterday out of town at my arrival. All passed with a great compliment and kindness; besides which, Monsieur *d'Estrades* endeavoured to shew, that all the sincerity in the world had been of his Master's side, but that all had been artificial on the part of the States; but especially on Monsieur *Beverning's*, who, he said, was *trop habile homme*, and always found some specious thing or other to hinder the peace; by which the
French

French found that the States absolutely had no mind to it, how much soever his Master desires it.

Monfieur *Colbert's* whole difcourfe was, how the incident touching the towns proceeded wholly from Monfieur *Oxenſtern*: how the Moſt Chriſtian King could not, in honour, refuſe it to an ally; though he (Monfieur *Colbert*) thought it much againſt his Maſter's intereſt, and more againſt that of *Sweden*: that his Maſter had deſiſted immediately upon the *Swedes* deſiſting by their declaration, which was made to them here, July 26th, N. S.

This made me reflect upon what Monfieur *du Cros* would have ſold ſo dear to his Maſteſty, after that the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors had given the point here: and, as Monfieur *Olivecrans* ſaid, upon the aſſurances his Maſteſty had given him before he came laſt from *London*: but, as others interpret it here, from the fears, that in caſe the war went on this ſummer, the *Dutch* would lend their fleet to the allies, to beat the *Swedes* clearly out of *Pomerania*.

I remember nothing in Monfieur *d'Avaux's* viſit, beſide the ordinary things that paſſed in thoſe of his colleagues.

About eight o'clock, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came to us both a ſecond time, and ſaid, they had orders from their Maſters to communicate to us the answer they had newly received from them, to the *French* memorial of *Sunday* laſt: which was, in ſhort, that they were ready to ſign the peace, and ſhould be ſo till to-morrow was paſt: after which they ſhould be at liberty no longer, in regard of their engagements with his Maſteſty: but that, if they (the *French* Ambaſſadors) would ſign the peace, their Maſters the States, after it was ſigned (to ſhew their reſpects to the Moſt Chriſtian King) would ſend their Ambaſſadors not only to *St. Quintin*, but to *Paris*.

The

The time being thus short, and expiring to-morrow at twelve at night, they told us, they should go strait from us to acquaint the *French* Ambassadors, by word of mouth, with this answer of the States ; intending to give it them, to-morrow, more extensively in writing.

We are always,

S I R,

Your most faithful

humble servants,

W. Temple.

L. Jenkins.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, August 16. N. S. 1678.

ON *Saturday* last, in the evening, I received yours of the 30th past, at *Nimeguen*, with his Majesty's orders to exchange the ratifications of the late treaty here ; upon which, you are pleased to say, his Majesty put so much weight. I found, upon computation, that yesterday, being *Monday*, was the last day allowed for the exchange of the said ratifications ; and resolved to part by three o'clock next morning, that I might not fail of arriving here in time ; which I did about seven o'clock yesterday morning, after having been all night upon the way. I immediately spoke with the Pensioner, and acquainted him with my orders to exchange the ratifications, and of what you command me to let him know here, of his Majesty's intention upon it ; which was, that I should still endeavour to procure an amendment of those points in the treaty, against which his Majesty has made exception

prion; though he had not thought fit to delay the ratification upon it, both for the infinite consequence of the business, and his great zeal to support the interests in question; upon which grounds he had chosen rather to rely upon the States, for obtaining those points after the ratification, than to delay it upon them.

The Pensioner seemed extremely pleased that the ratifications are come, and that I had orders to exchange them; which he desired might be done in form at ten a-clock. As to the points still insisted on, he said, he would not fail of acquainting the States with them at such times, and in such manner, as he thought would conduce most to the success of them, and thereby to his Majesty's satisfaction; though he conceived, since a peace was like to follow, his Majesty would find no necessity of insisting upon them for the present; and his Majesty's ratification would have much more force and credit here, if it came barely to the States without those circumstances, after the fears they had been in of his Majesty's not ratifying the treaty.

After this he fell immediately to speak of the peace that had been lately signed at *Nimeguen*; and with great trouble in his face, and, I believe, at heart, when I said, *Il faut avouer qu'elle est belle, principalement ayant été signée sans l'Espagne.* He replied, it was true; but that this last would never have been done without Monsieur du Cros's journey, and his *debiting* both here and at *Nimguen*, that his Majesty was resolved not to come to a rupture with *France*; but had taken his measures absolutely with them upon the peace; and that orders were sent over to my Lord *Sunderland* to that purpose. I told him, I discovered, by my going to *Nimeguen*, that all the business of Monsieur du Cros had been only an intrigue of his own; and, I believe, a surprize upon his Majesty. That I had, thereupon, never said one word to the *Swedish* Ambassadors there,
of

of his Majesty's warranting the neutrality of *Spain*; or any thing else contained in the dispatches received from *England*, with Monsieur *du Cros*; but had made that advantage of my journey, as, in great measure, to take away the ill impressions which had been given them of his Majesty's conduct, by *du Cros*'s discourses, and the *French* Ambassadors upon them. He seemed to be extreme glad of both these points, and said, he would immediately give the Prince notice of them, that Monsieur *du Cros*'s journey was a thing done, and so without remedy; and therefore they must make the best of what was past, and provide, as well as they could, against what was coming upon them; in which they should have infinite need of his Majesty's resolution and constancy, *pour supporter la foiblesse de quelques gens de cet Etat, qui ne tendoient qu'à la ruine du país aussi bien que du Prince.* That for his part, he saw very well the artifices of *France* in all that had passed at *Nimeguen*. That they knew the *Dutch* Ambassadors had orders to sign the peace, in case the evacuation of the places were yielded before the 11th of this month, according to our late treaty; but that they could not sign after that day was expired. That they were resolved to prevent the force of this conjunction between his Majesty and this State, by signing the peace that night, upon yielding to evacuate the places; but that they had not discovered this intention till ten a'clock that morning, in a conference which lasted till three in the afternoon, after which they knew there would neither be time for the *Spanish* Ambassadors to adjust their treaty that night, nor for the *Dutch* to send for orders to the States, whether to sign without the *Spaniards*, or no: that the *Dutch* Ambassadors had *extremement precipité l'affaire*; and that he knew very well, the *French* were persuaded by some of their correspondents here, that the States having once signed, though *Spain* should not agree, would

would yet be concluded by it. And that the *French* Ambassadors had thereupon raised new points in their treaty with *Spain*, which had never been mentioned in the *French* propositions at *Nimeguen*. That they would indeed have a very fine game to play, if in only giving up *Mastricht* to the *Dutch*, they might retain the other places in *Flanders*; and have the liberty thereby of invading *Cleves* and *Juliers*, while this State should have their hands tied up: but that they would be deceived in all this measure. That the States would never ratify the treaty, unless that of *Spain* were first concluded; and the places in *Flanders*, as well as *Mastricht*, should thereupon be actually evacuated. That, till *Spain* had signed, they would neither send their Deputies to *France*, (tho' they might possibly name them) nor so much as consent to the ceasing of hostility. That, God be thanked, there was an expression in the late treaty, by which his Majesty and the States were engaged one to another; not only in case *France* should refuse to promise the evacuation of the places, but also in case they should delay to do it, either upon the account of the satisfaction of *Sweden*, or any other cause; or in case, after they had agreed to it, they should *detreſſare*. That the ratifications being once exchanged, he did not doubt, his Majesty would be firm to them in all these points, as they should be both to him and to themselves.

After this he told me, he should see me again when the Commissioners came to exchange the ratifications; which they accordingly did between ten and eleven, and the exchange was made, in form, between us. Monsieur *Van Lewen* took occasion to say upon it, that, as nothing but our signing the treaty could have made the *French* yield to the point of evacuating the places; so nothing but our ratification could keep them up to it. That they had discovered their arti-
fices

fices more than ever, by the long *chicane* they had made with the *Dutch* Ambassadors, about retaining *Mastricht*, *Charleroy*, or *Ghent*, even the very day they signed the treaty: by which they shewed plainly, that nothing had brought them to it, but the fear of a firm conjunction between *England* and *Holland*; and that he still feared what might be the consequence of the treaty signed without the *Spaniards*.

I told the Commissioners, his Majesty had ever reckoned upon *Spain's* concluding at the same time with them; and upon evacuation of the *Spanish* places, as the very fundamental point of the States agreeing to the *French* conditions. That I found before I came from *Nimeguen*, that the difficulties were like to be great between *France* and *Spain*; and that the *Dutch* Ambassadors thereupon had a mind to put that business upon us, the King's Ambassadors there; but that we had excused ourselves from it, and told them, we had always looked upon it as a part of the States agreement with *France*, and with which they ought to charge themselves, as the most essential part of their own treaty. I asked the Commissioners, whether they were not of this mind? The Pensioner said, they were; and that the *Dutch* Ambassadors should be charged with it, as a point without which the peace could not be ratified. Monsieur *Van Lewen* seconded them, and said, it was the foundation of all the rest; and that, he did believe, there was not one man in the States would consent to the ratification without it.

I remember nothing else that passed upon this occasion: and shall, upon the whole, in short, give you my own opinion of the present dispositions here, in this great conjuncture. There is a party here, that would certainly drive this State into such measures with *France* as might bring the provinces not only into a dependence, but even under the subjection of *France*.

And this party consists chiefly of rich men, of the old *Lovestein* faction, in five or six of the great trading towns of this province. They are induced to it by the hatred and fear of the house of *Orange*; and by the belief, that if they live under the protection of *France*, the liberty and trade of the country shall be still preserved; and the hands of the government only changed from the Prince of *Orange*'s friends to those of this party. The *French* have had all along, but especially for these seven or eight months past, a close intelligence with the best heads of this party, and by them infused it into many well meaning men, that nothing but the protection of *France* can preserve these countries in constant peace, and thereby in trade and riches. That *France* can never have any design upon their liberties; because it would be against their own interest, in regard they could make better use of this State by their continuing to be great and rich, than if they should be weak and poor; which would follow the suppression of their liberties: with many other plausible things of this nature, reflecting upon the great danger here, to be from the Prince of *Orange*, in conjunction with *England*.

On the other side, five of the provinces here, and about eleven or twelve of eighteen of the towns in this province, are generally in the opinions and interests of the Prince of *Orange*; and whenever his Majesty falleth in, heartily to back them by his alliances, and any artificial dealing in the *French* negotiations come to be discovered, they grow to be so much masters of all resolutions here, that all the well-meaning men, even in the great trading towns, fall in with them, and those which are absolutely in the *French* interest, dare not so much as speak in their assemblies. But whenever it happens that any paces of his Majesty give them a suspicion of his uncertainty in the measures with them, the other party then immediately gets ground

ground; and the generality in the great towns begin to conclude, that they had better accept any terms of peace from *France*, than rely upon a support from *England*, which they cannot be sure of.

All seem at present absolutely resolved not to ratify the peace with *France*, unless *Spain* be likewise concluded by it, and the towns evacuated: but yet, what this itself may come to, I cannot tell, in case his Majesty should give them occasion of doubting his resolutions to support them in it. Which is all I shall trouble you with upon this subject, or any other, at this time, besides the assurances of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, August 16. N. S. 1678.

ON Saturday last in the evening, I received at *Nimeguen*, by express, your Lordship's in the new Secretary's hand, with one from Secretary *Williamson*, giving me order to exchange the ratifications with this State, which were sent over last post; and upon the exchange whereof, Mr. Secretary tells me, his Majesty put so much weight. If it were so, sure he must have forgot that I was ordered the post before, to go away to *Nimeguen*; and that it is twenty-six leagues between this place and that; so that if by contrary winds, or any other accident, the express had been a day longer coming to me; or if after receiving it, I had not travelled all night, as well as day, I could not have been here time enough to have ratified it; the term fixed for it by the treaty expiring yesterday, and that, perhaps, the state of *Christendom* may, in great measure,

measure, depend upon this ratification ; for, though the peace between *France* and this State be signed, yet it must be the force of this ratification that must prevail with *France* to sign the treaty with *Spain* too, and thereupon to evacuate really the towns ; and it must be the same force that must keep this State from ratifying their peace with *France*, unless *Spain* be likewise included, and the towns really evacuated.

For my own part, I was never so amazed as to receive this ratification of the treaty, and orders to exchange it. For, upon Monsieur *du Cros*'s journey, and all he said at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen* upon it, as if it were on purpose to spread it both here and there, I did believe the King had taken his absolute measures with *France* ; that he was resolved not to ratify the treaty here, and sent me away to *Nimeguen*, only to have me gone from hence, for the reasons Monsieur *Colbert* gave for my orders to go, *a cause que je ne faisois que du mal icy*. Besides, Monsieur *du Cros* told them, and others here, that all the measures concerning the peace were agreed by his Majesty, your Lordship, Monsieur *Barillon*, and him. That you were to enter into alliance presently with *France* and *Sweden* ; that orders were gone to my Lord *Sunderland* to that purpose, and that his Lordship would make them public by the next post. How all this was to agree with my treaty here, and powers to negotiate with the confederates, made, I confess, my head turn round, and seemed to hang together like ropes of sand. In the mean time, I had found out by the *Swedish* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, that the whole business of *du Cros* was a mystery to them ; that they knew nothing in the world of it till he came to *Nimeguen* ; only the post before, he had writ them word he was coming : that they had given the *French* Ambassadors their declaration of desisting from their pretensions, the 26th of last month, N. 8. and that the very hour Monsieur

du Cros arrived, and was with them, the French Ambassadors came in, to let them, the *Swedes*, know they had orders to desist likewise from their pretensions of detaining the towns.

Both the *Swedish* Ambassadors told me, that when they delivered this message to *du Cros*, who was all the while in the house, he was, *si étonné qu'il étoit prêt de tomber de son haut*; and yet, that he had the impudence to write to his Master, the Duke of *Holstein*, that he had made the peace. This they told me both together; and next day Monsieur *Olivecrans*, alone, told me, *du Cros* had so much address as to get them both to sign a letter to his Majesty, of his own drawing up, which seemed to give him (*du Cros*) some share in the business; and that he (Monsieur *Olivecrans*) was extremely ashamed of it, because the contrary would appear by the date of their declaration to *France*; but that this whole intrigue of *du Cros* was an arrant comedy. For my own part, I wish it were so; but the effects are more than ridiculous, and, I doubt, have shaken his Majesty's credit more than was to be wished at this time. And, for my part, I have, upon what the *Swedes* told me, very plainly said to the Dutch Ambassadors, and others, that it was a downright *fourberie* of *du Cros*; and that I had no other business at *Nimeguen*, but to observe the motions of the peace at the critical term. In short, it is signed; and I have writ to Mr. Secretary, with what dispositions on the *French*, and what on this side; and what all may come to upon it I know not, but am sure it will extremely depend upon his Majesty. But what the dispositions will be there, I can never pretend more to tell, since you could not so much as keep your countenance three weeks together; and have now ratified a treaty, which Mr. Secretary found fault with every line of; and since you could suffer such a man as *du Cros*, of whom the Pensioner said, at my but naming him, *c'est un fourbe*

fourbe des fourbes, to give so unhappy a *branle* to the affairs of the world. But after all, I must beg your Lordship to let me know, when you did resolve to send him and those instructions, why not to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, that was upon the place; but to me that was engaged here in an affair of another nature? Well, I can say no more, but that it has so broke my head, that I think it will not be right again: and I must beg of your Lordship, that you will please to let his Majesty know, that I grow old and infirm, and am not fit for these sudden commands; that if he thinks I can be of use to him till the end of this conjuncture, I am content to stay that period: but for returning to *Nimwegen*, I shall not be able to do it; nor do I think there can be need of more than one; if there be, Mr. *Hyde* is in commission: but let who will be there, instructed as I find Sir *Lionel Jenkins* is, there had as good be none at all. Whatever becomes of my health, or heart, or honour, your Lordship will ever be assured of my being,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,

SINCE the writing of this, I have received Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* of the 2d instant, and a long one from Mr. *Aglionby*, of the same date; with an account of all his Majesty's, the Duke's, and your Lordship's discourses to him, upon the present conjuncture; by which I find you will have reason to think of the man, and his late intrigue, as I have done ever since I spoke with the *Swedish* Ambassadors; but what you will think after he has been with you, I know not, considering his address; one part whereof has been,

to make the *Leyden French Gazette* publish yesterday, that, upon Monsieur *du Cros*'s arrival at *Nimeguen*, the peace was immediately signed; so that it must have been done upon something he brought with him from *England*. I cannot but add one thing the Pensioner told me since my return, which was, that among many other things *du Cros* had spread, both here and at *Nimeguen*, of which you have account enough already, he told the *Swedish* Ambassadors as well as the *French*, that the King was absolutely for a peace, and would not come into the war; but that the Duke was wholly for the war, and with intention by it to bring the Prince to be Sovereign of this country; being wholly in that interest since the marriage of his Highness.

Upon the whole, you will be best able to judge there, from what springs this whole thing has moved, finding how early *Sweden* has made their declaration of desisting, which was the 16th of *July*, O. S. How *France* had resolved to sign the peace with the *Dutch*, upon the evacuation of the places, if they could not prevail for the deputation to *St. Quintin*; and how all this has passed, it seems, without any communication with his Majesty: for in the letters of the 2d instant, you knew nothing of any such resolution in *France*, for ought I see; and the *French* Ambassadors received their orders to sign upon *Monday* the 29th of *July* O. S. though they kept them private till *Wednesday*, which was the last day the *Dutch* were at liberty; and thereby put them upon doing it so precipitately, that they might neither be able to take *Spain* along with them; nor to consult with the States, whether to sign or no.

This is enough upon so unpleasant a subject. Now, for my going to *Nimeguen*, after I had resolved to stay, when I received my instructions; I will tell your Lordship just upon what point that resolution turned. The day after I dispatched my Secretary with my first resolution,

resolution, Mr. *Meredith* told me, the King had been extreme earnest upon my going to *Nimeguen*, without any more circumstance than bare communication to the States. Monsieur *Sylvercroon* came and told me, the *Swedes* had not absolutely desisted from their pretensions, though they had declared they would; and the Pensioner writ me this letter, all in his own hand; whereof I send you the copy; by which he made my going absolutely necessary for his Majesty's interest, and that of the Prince, as well as other considerations; since *du Cros* had made the subject of it so public, that several of the States of *Holland* had told the Pensioner of it, the day after *du Cros* had passed by this place. All that I can say farther to your Lordship is, that if the King be really upon no better terms with *France*, than he seems to be by all the last dispatches, and that they play their game here whenever they can, and with us only when they cannot compass their ends here; and if his Majesty will, on the other side, endeavour to hinder that game, and keep the dependance of this State upon the Crown of *England*, he must, I doubt, come to these two resolutions: first, to assure the Prince of *Orange* that he will take no farther measures, either upon the peace or war, till he has first concerted them with him: and next, to come to a resolution to join, absolutely, with this State, in any measures they shall think necessary for their safety, upon the neutrality of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*; without which, the Prince and Pensioner think the State lost: but they know not whether they will come up to it themselves, till they find whether they shall be backed by his Majesty; but in that case, they are confident, the States will be positive, either before the peace or after.

I humbly beg your Lordship's pardon for this long and hasty scribble which I am ashamed of; and yet, now it is done, it will be necessary to shew it his Majesty, being all the lights I can give from hence, besides

sides what I have given to Mr. Secretary; and all the account I can give of my own conduct.

I am, &c.

Your Lordship will understand by my dispatch to Mr. Secretary, that I having said not a word to the *Swedes* at *Nimeguen*, but only general professions of his Majesty's kindness to that Crown; the King is at liberty wholly on that side, unless *Monseigneur du Cros* had power to bind him.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, August 19. N. S. 1678.

BY Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* express, I gave you yesterday the trouble of one of mine, with a copy of the treaty signed the 10th, between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*. I am apt to believe, that what was signed at first was rather a *brouillon*, than any fair and formal draught; both the *French* and *Monseigneur Van Beverning* having run the affair out of all forms, to prevent the fatal minute, as they thought it, of twelve o'clock that night; after which the *Dutch* had declared they could not sign: and *Monseigneur Beverning* suffers, as I find, in every body's opinion here; having, as they assure me, never had any orders to sign, but only to pass an act upon the *French* consenting to evacuate the places, that the States would thereupon sign the peace, so soon as the treaty with *Spain* should be agreed. Let the spring have been where it will, the precipitation of the affair appears in many points that reflect much upon *Monseigneur Beverning's* conduct; who confesses they had not time to read it over. For, besides a contradiction in two articles, which gave one six months, and ano-

ther nine months time for the same thing, there were three essential faults. The first, not drawing so much as an act from the *French* Ambassadors for the evacuation of the *Spanish* towns; though the *Spanish* Ambassadors had given them one, before the signing, whereby they consented to the terms offered them by the *French* proposition. The next was (which I hear in private) that whereas it was agreed upon between them, that the differences between the States and *Sweden* should be endeavoured to be adjusted in three months time, and that, in the mean while, there should be a neutrality: when the article was drawn up, the term of three months was omitted, so that the article runs in general. The third concerns his Majesty more particularly, and his defensive alliance with this State: for in the 13th article of the treaty of peace, where the States promise a neutrality, and not directly, nor indirectly, to assist the enemies of *France*, it runs generally; which destroys the force of any defensive league they have made. But when I spoke to the Pensioner, and Monsieur *Van Lewen* about it, they both told me, that the States had immediately taken notice of it, as soon as the transcript of the articles came to them; and had them sent to Monsieur *Beverning* to reproach him upon it, with order to have it immediately redressed: without which they ordered him to declare to the *French* Ambassadors, that it should not be ratified; and it is to be mended by the addition of these words, after *les ennemis de France, & des alliés, durant le cours de cette guerre, & à l'égard de ceux qui y sont maintenant engagés*. They interpret the dressing of this article in *French*, to have been industrious on their part, as well as negligent on the *Dutch* side.

To-morrow Monsieur *Beverning* will make his report to the States, how this whole business has passed; and particularly, of the state wherein I left the differences between the *French* and the *Spaniards*.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, though I have no letters from you this post, yet having seen one from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, which confirms me in the opinion I was, that his Majesty would desire the *Spaniards* might come to sign too; without which the towns in *Flanders* would not be evacuated; I have spoken at large with Monsieur *de Lyra* upon this point, whom I take to be the spring of the *Spaniards* motions in all these parts.

I find his resolutions are, to try if he can make the States disown their Ambassadors: but in case he cannot obtain that, and be pressed to dispatch the treaty now on foot, he will give into it even with the point of neutrality; laying this for his maxim, to hold this State up to the best terms he can for his master, but, however, not to break with them; and to pursue the closest measures he can with them after the peace, and, by their means, endeavour the same with his Majesty; upon the belief that all three are equally concerned in preservation of whatever is left in *Flanders*.

While I was in this dispatch, the Pensioner and Monsieur *Van Lewen* came to me from the States, to let me know, that having received letters from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, by which they found that Monsieur *du Cros* had informed his Majesty, that the States had made paces in this treaty, disagreeing with the measures taken between his Majesty and them, and of private concert between them and *France*; particularly that they desisted from pressing the neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and had granted the *French* a passage at *Vifet*, for invading those countries: the States had ordered them both to write to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and to desire me to assure his Majesty, that it was all a false information. And whereas they found endeavours had been used thereupon, to possess his Majesty, that the peace being made, there would be no farther use of his forces in *Flanders*; they desired
not

not only the continuation of those that were there, but likewise that he would be pleased to send over more: since the peace was yet upon very ticklish terms.

They said hereupon, that they every day discovered some new artifice in the dealings of *France*; for now they proposed two months to be the term of the ratification between them and the *Spaniards*, though *Spain* desired but a month; which was done out of design to retard the evacuation of the places, till his Majesty and the States should retire their forces out of *Flanders*: but that they were confident the States would not ratify their treaty, till *Spain* should ratify theirs, and the evacuation of the places immediately follow.

The Pensioner staying some time with me alone, told me, both the States of *Holland* and States General had approved the Prince's late action near *Mons*, and sent him thanks for it, as well as for his conduct the next day, in acquainting Monsieur de *Luxemburgh* with the peace, and agreeing to a cessation of arms for two days.

I took notice of the 30th article of the treaty of commerce, about the liberty of building ships, as one that had been introduced in the time of their best intelligence, upon the treaty of 1662: and which I thought too much for a bare treaty of peace and amity. But he said, this article was in their treaties of commerce with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as *France*; that *France* had made one trial of it, by building four or five ships here; but had been so served in it, that they never returned any more, and he did believe, never would, or, if they did, should fare no better.

That they, the States, were ready to come to any new treaty of the strictest alliance that his Majesty should think fit after the peace; since nothing but a firm conjunction between them could stop the career of
France,

France. He said, that their Ambassadors had strict orders to insist upon the neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, even after the peace; but it having been omitted in the first hasty acceptance of the peace, some towns would not be brought to *acroche* it absolutely upon that. What they might do, when it came nearer to them, he could not tell; but was apt to believe that the *Spaniards* once agreeing, it might run to a general peace, and that the affairs of the *North* itself would not hinder it.

I am,

your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR,

Hague, August 23. N. S. 1678.

ON Saturday last, Monsieur *Beverning* made his report to the States, and in particular of the difficulties remaining between the *French* and *Spaniards*; which consisted chiefly in the *French* demands of the county of *Beaumont*, of *Bovines*, of security for the cession of *Dinant*, and of an article of neutrality from the *Spaniards*. The report was received so coldly, and followed with such imputations of ill conduct, upon those points which I mentioned in my last, especially the omission in the 13th article, and not procuring an act from the *French* Ambassadors for the evacuation of the places, that Monsieur *Beverning*, when he came out of the assembly, swore to his friends, that he would give up his commission, and that nothing should engage him to return to *Nimeguen* any more; laying the fault of all omissions upon his precipitation; and that, upon the advices and orders from hence, which he had followed to the best of his understanding.

ing. He went immediately to his house in the country, where he continues ever since; tho' some of the States have engaged several of his best friends to go down and endeavour to reclaim him.

Yesterday, about noon, the Prince arrived at *Hounslardye*, after having agreed with the Duke of *Luxemburgh* about a cessation of hostility, till the ratification of the treaty, and about withdrawing the forces on each side; and thereby left *Mons* open. I attended his Highness in the afternoon, and found him much unsatisfied about the signing of the peace without *Spain*; which he said absolutely, the Ambassadors had no farther orders for, than only to threaten the *Spaniards*, that in case they would not consent to the article of neutrality, they would sign without them. But, that it was done, and since his Majesty was so well pleased with it, as it seemed by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* letter, they must make their best of it, and drive it on to a peace, in case *France* would be sincere in it with the *Spaniards*. But that he much doubted it, unless the same resolutions and paces of his Majesty, which had engaged him to promise the evacuation of the places, should bring it to a conclusion. He was very melancholy upon what condition this peace would leave all the affairs of the allies in, and the just reproaches this State was to expect from them; which he was to bear his share in, how little soever he had deserved it. He said a great deal of Monsieur *du Cros's* journey, and what effects it had here; but that he had not yet spoken with the States, and could not tell what it was they would be at: but that he would see me to-day, after he had been in the assembly. I found him unsatisfied with Monsieur *Beverning*, but yet of my opinion, that he must return to *Nimeguen*, and end this business of *Spain*; without which it could not be a peace.

The

The same day I spoke with Monsieur *Van Lewen*, who told me, the *French* Ambassadors had consented to the redressing the tenth article in the manner I writ in my last ; and that the States *auroient crevé plutôt que de faire la paix sans cela*. That no State could have greater obligation than this had to his Majesty ; and that every body in it was sensible, that they owed the peace wholly to him, in case they had it, which would yet depend upon that between *France* and *Spain* ; and this upon his Majesty's resolutions to support them in standing firmly upon it, as the point upon which their own treaty was grounded.

This afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me, he found a general disposition in the States, not to ratify the peace, till *Spain* should be ready to do it at the same time. But yet, he desired very much, that his Majesty would give me orders to press them upon this point, if there should be occasion ; and that nothing new should be imposed upon the *Spaniards*, beyond the conditions given in by the *French* at *Nimeguen*. He desired likewise, that his Majesty would give order to his Ambassador at *Nimeguen*, to propose, as from his Majesty, a general suspension of arms for six months, in order to the treating of a general peace ; and desired me that I would not fail to represent both these points to his Majesty from his Highness by this post. He saith, by advices from *Nimeguen*, he finds the *French* Ambassadors there seem well enough disposed to it, upon the Nuncio's having already proposed it ; but, that nothing will give it so much force, as coming from his Majesty, and therefore is very earnest in it.

Mr. *Meredith* sends you the treaty printed, as likewise, that for cessation of hostilities, so that I shall

not

432 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

not increase your present trouble beyond the assurance of my being always,

S I R,

your, &c.

P. S. The Prince has engaged Monsieur *Beverning* to come to town to-morrow; so as the States of *Holland* will then fall into consultation upon the points in difference between *France* and *Spain*.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, August 26. N. S. 1678.

I Had the honour of one from your Lordship of the 12th, by my Secretary, who came over with Mr. *Hyde*. I will not enter into the reasons of this warm and sudden motion in *England*, nor can I into the effects of it abroad. A little time will tell us the last: and for the first, it is my part rather to look towards the events, than inquire into the causes of it. All I shall say, is, that it has extremely surpris'd every body here, and none more than the Prince, unless it be myself. For, your Lordship knows, when I came away, his Majesty's resolution was, to have the peace, if he could, upon the evacuation of the places; and in the course of this whole matter, to follow and support *Holland* in the paces they should make, and not to lead them: and you may remember, I told his Majesty at the foreign committee, that I knew very well, the dispositions of *Holland* towards the peace, were such, that if he should have had a design to engage them farther in the war, his endeavours towards it, must be like those of rowers, that look one way and go another. I should have been glad his Majesty would have begun upon this occasion, what, your Lordship tells me, he has

has resolved, of concerting first with the Prince any measures he should take, especially in what relates to these countries, where he can certainly give his Majesty the best lights, and such as it is not possible for his Majesty to have, in taking sudden resolutions upon affairs that are in motion, and have such sudden turns. As in this itself, his Majesty could not know, that the Prince had himself concluded a cessation of hostility with *France*, till the ratification of the treaty : and yet, that very circumstance made a great change in the event like to attend Mr. *Hyde's* commission. The particular of his instruction ; to say, his Majesty would recal his forces out of *Flanders*, in case the States fell not into his opinion of the late treaty's having place ; was, I suppose, intended to draw them into his Majesty's present mind, and thereby to save *Flanders*, as well as *Holland*, from falling into the hand or dependance of *France* : but the Prince and Pensioner severally, at the very first mention of it, concluded, it would have a quite contrary effect, and must certainly occasion the loss both of this country and *Flanders* ; as you will find by Mr. *Hyde's* dispatch ; which is so exact, that I can add nothing to it towards his Majesty's information : only, I will tell your Lordship what the Prince said to me last night upon it ; which was, that he was very glad to see his Majesty in this mind ; and that he knew very well what effects it would have had, if they had been assured of it here three weeks ago : but what it would have now, he could not tell ; for they were all so surprised, especially after Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* letter, which said so much of his Majesty's being pleased with the peace, that no body had said a word upon it. That for his part, if he had been first consulted in it, he should have been for his Majesty's sending to the States, not to ratify the treaty without *Spain's* ratifying theirs at the same time, and being thereby assured of the evacuation

cuation to follow immediately: that if his Majesty had only pressed this, and assured the States at the same time of his resolution to support them, by a vigorous execution of their treaty, in case of any refusal or difficulty from *France*, he was confident the thing would have been done, and thereby either *Spain* been included, or the States gone on with the war. But that he did not know what effect this, now come from his Majesty, would produce in the great towns of *Holland*, where they were so apt to be jealous of his Highness's designs to continue the war: that we should see in a few days, and that he chiefly apprehended the town of *Amsterdam* upon it.

What your Lordship says, of your forbearing to say those things I desired you to tell his Majesty about myself, is too obliging in you, not to be acknowledged: but yet, I must beg your Lordship to believe, that none can judge so well of a man as himself; who feels what is within, whilst others only see what is without; and finds the decays of age or indisposition in his body and mind, while he may disguise them to other people. Whenever I thought myself able to do his Majesty service, though I never sought it, yet I never refused it: but whenever I shall find myself incapable of doing it any longer, and let his Majesty know it, I hope he will believe it: and, in the mean time, I beg your Lordship, not to think any thing I say of that kind, is humour, but a true judgment I make of myself by what I feel, and what I told both his Majesty and your Lordship, before I came over, would happen to me by any long stay in these countries, which have ever been so contrary to my health.

I cannot tell your Lordship how sensible a part I bear in the indisposition of the family, as well as your own, but comfort myself with the hopes Mr. *Aglionby* gives me, of their being well over; and will not

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 435

not engage your Lordship at present, in any farther trouble, than the assurance of my being ever, with equal passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Hague, August 30. N. S. 1678.

I Could not receive a greater honour or satisfaction, than by your Grace's letter of the 12th past; which I should sooner have acknowledged, but that since my last, I have been engaged in such sudden and unexpected motions, as well as the business here in such turns, as have left me neither time nor patience, nor concernment enough sometimes, to think of many things I ought to have done: among which, I reckoned all duties I owed to your Grace, and this in that number.

I shall, as succinctly as I can, pursue the thread of those two accounts I gave your Grace at my leaving *England*, and since my arrival here to this time: after which, I do not expect to meet with any thing worth your Grace's trouble or my own; having my head turned wholly another way, and cured of those impertinent solitudes, which have so often busied it about public affairs, and to so little purpose.

After my last to your Grace, and till the 4th of this month and this style, I took myself to have mastered the business his Majesty had sent me upon here. The treaty was signed, and by it the day fixed, being the 11th instant, for *France* to yield the evacuation of the places, or his Majesty to come into the war with the States. *France* had failed of all their endeavours to break these measures: the States had resolved not to send

send their Deputies to treat with the *French* King in person at *St. Quintin*, and not to sign their treaty, even upon the evacuation being yielded; unless in conjunction with *Spain*. The time of decision drew near, and the Most Christian King seemed so far engaged by his peremptory answers to his Majesty, as well as by his Ambassadors declarations at *Nimeguen*, not to evacuate the places, till the satisfaction of *Sweden*, that every body was at a gaze, which would prove of most weight, this point of honour, or that of interest, not to see *England* engaged in such a confederacy against *France*: and, in the mean time, whether it should prove a peace or a war. The measures were so closed between us and *Holland*, that nothing, in appearance, was like to shake them. For though upon my signing the treaty, Mr. Secretary *Williamson* had found great faults with many particulars of it, and sent me orders to get them amended; or else the King could not ratify; yet they being such points as had been impossible to be obtained here, and wherein I was left at liberty by my instructions; this difficulty had only been communicated to the Prince and the Pensioner here, who had confidence of satisfying his Majesty in those particulars, without making them public; which they thought would have ill effects upon the States at so critical a time in the measures between us.

Upon the 4th current, Mr. *Meredith*, the King's Secretary of the embassy, who had gone over with the treaty, arrived here, and in his company one Monsieur *du Cxos*, styled at *London*, Envoy of the Duke of *Holstein*. Mr. *Meredith* brought me an instruction to let the States know, that the King had resolved to give a guaranty upon the peace, to the neutrality which *Spain* should enter upon towards the enemies of *Sweden*; and that I had command to go immediately to *Nimeguen*; to acquaint the *Swedish* Ambassadors there with this resolution of his Majesty, and endeavour thereby

to induce them to quit their pretension of being restored before the evacuation of the towns, that so *France* might be at liberty to make that pace towards the peace. My instructions told me likewise, that this was done upon insinuations made his Majesty by *du Cros*, who was sent at the same time to the *Swedish* Ambassadors upon this occasion.

Du Cros came to me, and told me, the King had taken this measure with Monsieur *Barillon*, and sent an express over with it into *France*: that he was resolved upon the peace, and, to that purpose, had hastened me away to *Nimeguen*; whither he (*du Cros*) hoped to attend me. I told him, he knew his own times and motions; and that I should govern myself in mine, by my orders and his Majesty's intentions, as far as I understood them. And so we parted.

I was in the greatest trouble in the world, whether to obey my instructions, or first acquaint the King with the consequence of them here. I staid three days after *du Cros*, before I went to *Nimeguen*; but at last was resolved in the point, by finding that *du Cros* had made all public here; was gone to do the same at *Nimeguen*, and had persuaded the *Swedish* Commissary to come and tell me, that their Ambassadors had not absolutely desisted, but only declared that they would do so, and expected my coming to determine them, Upon all which, the Pensioner as well as I, were both of opinion, that it was necessary for me to acquaint the States with what his Majesty had ordered me, and to go away to *Nimeguen*; and not give the States of *Holland* occasion to believe, that I endeavoured to hinder his Majesty's paces towards the peace, in favour of what they here suspect, of the Prince's inclination to carry on the war.

On the 6th instant, I acquainted the States with his Majesty's resolution, and my journey; and on the 7th, I set out to *Nimeguen*, where I arrived the 8th; and

and immediately found, that on the 6th, the *French* Ambassadors had declared my memorial to the *Dutch*, that they desisted from their pretension to detain the towns till the satisfaction of *Sweden*, in pursuit of a declaration the *Swedish* Ambassadors had made to them about ten days before. But the *French* still insisted, upon the *Dutch* sending to *St. Quintin*, to adjust other points of the peace. On the 9th, the *Dutch* Ambassadors gave their answer to the *French*: that the State could not send to *St. Quintin* till the peace was signed; but that they were ready to sign upon the evacuation of the places, and should be so all the next day; but after that ended, they could make no farther pace without his Majesty, whose measures taken with them by treaty, would take place on the 11th of this month.

On the 11th in the morning, the *French* Ambassadors came to the *Dutch*; and in a conference of five hours, wherein they pressed very much to keep some of the towns, but found the *Dutch* obstinate in all; they yielded at last, and agreed to sign the treaty, and both came to us, the mediators, to desire us to sign with them. We asked, whether *Spain* signed at the same time, and were included? And finding they did not, we refused to sign with them, or at all to intervene in the treaty without new orders; since ours directed us to all paces necessary for a general peace, but not to any for a particular one. We expostulated with the *Dutch* for going about to sign without *Spain*, contrary to what had always been his Majesty's and the States intention; but Monsieur *Beverning* said, he must sign that night, tho' he lost his head; and so they did, between eleven and twelve o'clock; the instrument having been hardly finished by that hour; when our last treaty with *Holland*, for carrying on the war, would have begun to take place.

Next

Next day they fell into the business between *France* and *Spain*, wherein they met with so many difficulties by new demands of the *French*, that they confessed, they found plainly the *French* designs in this precipitation; which was, that the *Spaniards* might not have leisure to adjust their treaty, so as to sign at the same time, nor the *Dutch* Ambassadors have leisure to send a courier to the States for particular orders, whether to sign or no without *Spain*, and thereby to divide the States from *Spain*, and concluding their peace separately with the first, be obliged only to restore *Mastricht*, but keep the places in *Flanders* still in their hands.

Upon this Monsieur *Beverning* told us, that they had made a pace that had ruined both the States and all their neighbours; and when he said the same to his allies, laid the fault upon his Majesty, who had (as he said from *Van Beuninghen's* letter out of *England*) first refused to ratify the late treaty without conditions that were not possible for this State to admit; and by *du Cros's* journey, had satisfied the States what measures the King had taken with *France* for the peace, and how little was expected from *England* as to any rupture with that Crown. Of all which we gave account to Court.

On the 13th at night I received by express the notice of the ratification of his Majesty's treaty with this State being arrived at the *Hague*, and commands to exchange them without those difficulties that had before been made by Secretary *Williamson*. The last day allowed for this exchange was the 5th, so that if the express had, by winds or other accident, been kept four and twenty hours longer upon the way, or I had not gone all night as well as all day, I could not have come time enough from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, to make the exchange; and the whole treaty, upon which

which his Majesty began to put so much weight, had been out of doors.

The ratifications being exchanged in time and form, the Pensioner, with the greatest chagrin in the world, complained of *du Cros's* journey, as that which had ruined the whole affair, by giving such impressions here and at *Nimeguen*, as had precipitated the signing of the peace without *Spain*; and told me, the Prince had never been so troubled at any thing in his life; and that he doubted it would engage him in some desperate action. The same night, being the 15th, I received letters from *England*, telling me, they had discovered the artifice of *du Cros* in that whole business, and how mischievous it might prove; and that they hoped I had not pursued my instructions, as I had certainly not done, if they had been sent privately to me, and the whole business not been communicated to him: but the thing was done, and all I could say of it, was, that having found at my arrival at *Nimeguen*, the *Swedes* had actually made the pace towards which his Majesty seemed wholly to aim by my instruction; I had never said any thing of it to the *Swedish* Ambassadors, and thereby left *du Cros* wholly discredited with them and the *French*, and all others there: and told them, that I found plainly, his whole business was a *fourberie*; which sent him home railing at me, that I would not obey my orders, and that I was resolved to engage the King in a war, when his Majesty was resolved not to enter into any with *France*.

On the 16th at night, we received news of the Prince's bold action near *Mons*: for the honour whereof, I will only tell your Grace, that the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* had assured me, that their army was so posted, that if they had but ten thousand men, and the Prince fifty thousand, he would find it impossible to attack them.

The

The success of it you will have heard from many hands ; and found, that after the Prince, no man had a greater share in the danger and honour of it than my Lord *Offory*, who charged upon the most desperate pass, and left a great many men and officers behind him. For the Prince, all agree, there was not a common soldier in the army so much exposed, leading up every squadron himself in the wing he charged ; and being the whole time of the engagement, in the very hottest of the fire.

The day after the battel, the Prince received the States letters, giving him an account of the peace being signed ; upon which he sent to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, to know, if he would upon it raise the siege of *Mons* ; for which he took two days time to send for orders, and then consented to do it ; and so the affair ended, and the armies retired to their quarters. If some miscarriages had not happened in this action from some of the confederates, the *French* army had certainly been broken that day. And if the news of the peace being made public, with some other circumstances, had not prevented it the next, the business would have come to a great decision between the armies ; and with much appearance of advantage to the *Dutch*, upon the conjunction with a body of fresh *English* foot, which would have had great influence upon all sides. But it was otherwise decreed.

On the 19th letters came from *England*, but none to me from Court ; upon the belief I might be at *Nimwegen*, as Mr. Secretary pretended. But the letters from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* to the States said, tho' the King and Court had, at first report of the peace being signed, seemed a great deal surprized ; yet he had next day talked with them, and found them very well pleased with it, and with the conduct of the States : and a private letter to the foreign Ministers here said, it went so far, that they were upon the point of dis-

owning me and Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, for refusing to sign the peace as mediators.

On the 22d the Prince arrived here, and having been in the States the 23d, where he was received with great applause, he came to me that evening; and after complaints of their Ambassadors having signed the peace without *Spain*, and the ill consequences it was like to have upon the affairs of *Christendom*, he said, however, since his Majesty was pleased with it, there was nothing to be done but to endeavour to include *Spain* in it, and afterwards to drive it on to a general peace: without which, *France* having all their forces at liberty on this side, would in very little time be masters of the *Rhine*, and all the great cities upon it, from *Strasburgh* to *Cologne*, if not to *Wesel*; and after that would soon be masters of these countries and *Flanders*. And, therefore, he desired, his Majesty would propose a general suspension of arms, by his Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*: which I writ the same night to Court, upon the Prince's desire, and with the reasons of it.

The next day, being the 24th, Mr. *Hyde* arrived here, having made his passage in twenty four hours from *London*; and brought positive instructions with him to let the States know how much the King had been surprized with their Ambassadors signing the treaty without *Spain*; and with the difficulties that still remained upon the *Spanish* treaty, and the evacuation of the places. That his Majesty was thereupon of opinion, that the States could not ratify that treaty, by what they were engaged to by the last treaty I had made here, to go on with the war: and that if they were of the same mind, and would signify it to him, he would, within three days after such signification, declare war against *France*; and in all points pursue the last treaty he had made with the States.

We

We acquainted the Prince that night with this commission; and the first word he said upon it was, that he knew very well what effect this would have had if it had come three weeks before, and instead of Monsieur du Cros: but what effect it would have now, he could not tell, farther than that it would surprize every body. What he said to me in private was, that we were too cold, and too hot; and that he wondered we had not observed what they were always calling out to the steersmen at sea, *steddy, steddy*. That all we could hope to make out of this, was but to keep up the States in the resolution they were in already, of not ratifying the treaty without *Spain*. But it had another effect, at the first noise, upon the towns here, and so far increased the jealousy of some concert between the King and Prince of *Orange*, for carrying on the war tho' *France* should perform the conditions this State had accepted, that the very next day after Mr. *Hydes* proposition, those of *Holland* passed a resolution to send an Ambassador immediately into *France*; tho' under pretence of knowing that King's mind, upon the differences remaining with *Spain*: and the next day those of *Amsterdam* proposed to ratify the treaty with *France*, even without the inclusion of *Spain*. But the Prince's great temper and conduct hindered both one and t'other: the first, by the voices of five other provinces against that of *Holland*; and the other, by the rest of the towns in *Holland* against that of *Amsterdam*; and brought it to a resolution, both in the States of *Holland* and States General, not to ratify the peace without *Spain*; and to order their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* to go as far as possibly they can, in accommodating the points still in difference, which are small and few, and upon which I see no likelihood that either *Spain*, or this State will continue the war. So that if *France* will have a peace, and not raise new difficulties, beyond their own propositions, I look upon it as unavoidable:

voidable : and there has not been one time these four years past, when we might not have entered into the war with advantage, besides this alone, when we have made an offer at it ; and thereby, I suppose, broke our measures with *France*, tho' we have not taken them with the confederates.

By last post the King sent orders to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, at *Nimeguen*, to propose a general suspension of arms for six months ; in concurrence, as Mr. Secretary *Williamson* writes, with the Prince's desire. But the Prince asks, how this agrees now with Mr. *Hyde's* proposition ? And observes, that when he desired it, it was before he knew any thing of this last resolution of his Majesty's ; and on the contrary, thought him pleased with the peace. In short, whoever should take the pains to lay together the paces we have made for these three months past, in this great affair, would conclude, our Secretaries of State never remembered one day, what had been done the day before ; or never cared what would be done the next. I am so far from speaking this with design, that I am, for my own part, resolved to lay at his Majesty's feet the promise he made me a year ago of that employment, as well as the embassy I am charged with : and should certainly have done it already, but the Prince has engaged me to defer it till this present crisis be over ; and till he shall have talked with me to the end of this resolution.

I have nothing more worth increasing your Grace's trouble, and ought to ask pardon for the length of this. But I was resolved to give you once this light, by

which

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 445

which the farther paces of this affair may be better discerned, even at the distance your Grace is at.

I shall only add, that in whatever condition,

I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, *Hague, August 30. N. S. 1678.*

I Have this morning received the honour of your Lordship's, in my son's hands; the contents whereof chiefly concerning the Prince, I thought fit to send it him immediately, though it found his Highness in the States of *Holland*, where the great consultation, or rather debate, was to begin, upon the commission Mr. *Hyde* brought over. Because your Lordship pleases to say, you are impatient to know what my opinion is upon the whole, after my discourse with the Prince and Pensioner; I will add what I can think of, that may give you any farther light than I did in my last, upon this occasion; and, in such a conjuncture, may possibly be done by small circumstances, sometimes better than by great.

The first word the Prince said upon it, to Mr. *Hyde* and me together, after he acquainted his Highness with his whole instruction, was, that he knew very well what effect this would have had, if it had come over three weeks ago, instead of Monsieur *du Cros*; but that he could not tell what effect it would have now; more than that it would surprise every body; but that, for his own part, he was very glad to find the King in that mind; and thought it might do good, and could do no harm. And then said all that passed farther, of which

which Mr. *Hyde* gave you so exact an account last post.

The next day, the Prince speaking to me, in private, upon it, at first lift up his hands and eyes two or three times, and said, is it possible that this and *du Cros's* business could come from the same hands? That he found, by Mr. *Hyde's* instructions, the King was troubled about what he had done in that business; but it was a pace that could not be discovered; and that his resolving to warrant the neutrality of *Spain* had undone us all; for without that, this State would never have done it; nor never have signed without *Spain*, if *du Cros* had not persuaded them here, that the King had absolutely taken his measures with *France* about the peace. That the design of *du Cros's* journey was laid after Monsieur *Barillon* knew his Master had resolved to sign the peace; upon yielding to evacuate the towns. That the end of it was to shake his Majesty's measures here, by making them believe he had taken them absolutely with *France* about the peace; and to lose his Majesty's credit wholly with all the allies, by letting them know, he was resolved to bring about the restitution of *Sweden*, as soon as *Holland* was out of the war: and to have me sent to *Nimeguen*, just at the same time that I might have hindered the signing a peace without *Spain* by my being here. That the *French* Ambassadors had told Monsieur *Odyke*, immediately upon *du Cros's* arrival, that I had orders to come away presently, because I was making the war here, while his Majesty had taken his measures with *France* for the peace; and that it was a bold thing of me to stay at the *Hague*, contrary to my positive orders. The Prince added, that he knew, from a good hand, by whom this whole business had been brought about; and made very melancholy reflexions upon it. That for Mr. *Hyde's* commission, it would surprise the more here, because after this very business, and the

the signing of the peace being known in *England*, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had written to the States, that the King approved of what they had done, and was glad of it: that it was too cold and too hot; and that, for his part, he always thought of the boatswain in the yachts which brought him over, who was all night crying out still to the steersman, *Steddy, Steddy*; which he thought was as necessary in all council, as at sea. After this, he told me what use he hoped might be made of it (which I writ your Lordship last post) but that it could not bring the State again into war, unless *France* should refuse to sign with *Spain* upon such conditions as the State should think *Spain* had reason in; or else refuse actually to evacuate the towns, or to change the thirteenth article of the treaty.

These were the Prince's true thoughts upon it. Monsieur *de Lyra* the *Spanish* Minister, said upon it, at first, that this resolution of his Majesty was a miracle wrought for *Spain* and this State, if they could be so wise as to make use of it; but that he foresaw the States would not: that the thing was gone too far since the signing of the peace by the States Ambassadors, and of the cessation of the hostility by the Prince; and that *Spain*, could not hope to better their terms by it; because this State would not fall in with his Majesty, unless *France* should refuse to evacuate the towns, which he was sure they would not do. So that what they could hope was, that the States seeing his Majesty so firm in it, would, at least, secure the evacuation of the towns to *Spain*, as well as that of *Mastricht* to themselves. But that he was afraid of this generous pace in his Majesty having an effect upon the jealousy *Amsterdam*, and some of the other great towns, had of the Prince, and his design to continue the war in concert with *England*.

The Marquis *de Grana* (who is the Emperor's chief Minister in all these parts; and one of the best, in
all

all kinds that I have met with) told me yesterday in private conference, *que la dose est trop forte*; and that it had already increased the jealousy at *Amsterdam* so much, that they had given their opinion (the very next day after Mr. Hyde's proposition) to ratify the treaty with *France*. That the King had reason in his opinion, to say, the case of our treaty was fallen; and that if the States were as desirous to continue the war, as his Majesty seemed now to go into it, they might make the *French* proceedings in this matter a very just occasion, as not having performed the intentions of our treaty. But that there was no thought of bringing them into the war upon a chicane about words, whether the *French* declaration were in form, or their promise in writing. That besides, there were many who wished well to the thing, but did not know what to make of this *boutade* in *England*, and had no confidence in it, since what *Van Beuninghen* and others had written the post before, about his Majesty's being pleased with the treaty; and so far, that he, the Marquis, saw a letter out of *England*, by that very post, which said, the King was so much satisfied with it, that he was upon the point of disowning Sir *Lionel Jenkins* and me, for having refused to sign the treaty. That, for his part, he looked upon all as desperate: that *France* would *faire quelque grand coup en Allemagne* these two months; and after the *Germans* should retire into winter quarters, would come back with all their forces in *Flanders*, and master it, in case the towns should not be evacuated before that time; which they would endeavour by all the delays towards *Spain*, and all the artifices possible towards this State. That whatever came of it, he found his Master the Emperor was absolutely resolved never to separate himself from the Princes of the empire in the course of the treaty, but leave the event to God Almighty.

Last

Last night late the Prince told me, that he hoped to have the majority of voices, very considerably, in this Province ; and the other Provinces entirely, for not ratifying their treaty till *Spain* had signed. That, for his part, he would endeavour all he could, that they might not do it till *Spain* should be ready to ratify at the same time : but that he could have no hopes of carrying it any farther, unless *France* should refuse to conclude with *Spain*, upon the propositions they had offered at *Nimeguen*, and which *Spain* had accepted. That if they could, by his Majesty's firmness, secure the towns in the *Spaniards* hands, and thereby for the present save *Flanders* ; all that he saw to be done, was to press the whole business on towards a general peace : since without it, after this State and *Spain* were out of the war, he did not see what could hinder *France* from taking *Treves*, *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Straßburgh*, though they should not invade *Cleves* and *Juliers* presently ; and that after they had mastered the *Rhine*, they would soon do the same by this country and *Flanders*.

This morning I heard that five of the greatest towns in *Holland*, next *Amsterdam*, and three of the chief of *North-Holland*, as well as the Nobles, were certainly fixed in not ratifying their treaty without *Spain* : and that some of them were resolved to fall personally upon Monsieur *Valkener*, who had absolutely governed *Amsterdam* in the opinion they had taken, and with whom Monsieur *Van Lewen* had a sharp and personal brush, the last day the States of *Holland* were assembled. How late they may sit to-day I know not, but hope I may, before the closure of this packet, give your Lordship some account how the debate runs ; though I do not expect this sitting should end it.

Having given your Lordship such a particular account of those persons thoughts upon it, which I esteem most considerable here, and who are least likely

450 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

to be deceived, I shall not add any judgment of my own, which ends but in one point I mentioned in my last to your Lordship, that all instructions his Majesty can give to any man here, ought to be executed (and directed to be so) in concert with the Prince, in case his judgment upon them were not had before : and Mr. Hyde is most absolutely of this opinion ; and wishes often, that such a clause had been in his, in case he should find the Prince here : for want of it he has been engaged to pursue his instructions already, farther than he thought the thing would well bear ; and is in great pain what to do upon the last point of them, about his Majesty's resolution to recal his troops, in case the States fall not into his Majesty's present mind upon the treaty ; which the Prince and Pensioner hitherto are of opinion would be a most destructive pace to the whole business.

I am ever,

with equal passion and truth,

My Lord,

your, &c.

To the Prince Elector Palatine.

Hague, September 8. N. S. 1678.

May it please your Highness,

I Received some time since the honour of a letter from your Highness, of July 29, by the conveyance of my Lord Ambassador Jenkins, and should not have failed immediately to make that return which became me, in the acknowledgments of it, if it had found me in my station at Nimeguen, as your Highness intended. But being divided between these two embassies, and finding the duties of them sometimes different

different, I cannot pretend to charge myself with any parts of my function; as a mediator there, while I find myself engaged in another sort of figure, during my abode here. Besides, I was willing to see what paces his Majesty might think fit to make or decline in the business of a general peace, before I gave myself the honour of entertaining your Highness upon the share you are like to have in it. But since the King has thought fit to propose a cessation of six months in order towards it, I shall presume to tell your Highness my opinion, freely, upon those two points, wherein Monsieur *Spanheim* told me, you were pleased chiefly to concern yourself.

For the first, about *Philippsburg*, I do not see how a peace between *France* and the empire can be pursued upon any other foot, than what your Highness proposes to yourself in that matter; so that I believe a general necessity will therein serve to advance and to effect a particular interest which your Highness lays so much to heart, and with so much reason.

For the other pretension, of relief and reparation of the great damages your Highness has suffered by the war; since your Highness intends (and, I think, prudently) to insist no farther upon it, than by engaging his Majesty's offices and instances towards *France*; I think, your Highness will do better to procure them immediately by your Minister at *London*, to be transmitted from Court to the King's Ambassador at *Paris*, with orders to pursue and value them there, as a particular and domestic concernment which his Majesty takes in your Highness's interest, rather than trust to their being handed over to the King's Ambassadors Mediators at *Nimeguen*, perhaps, in a crowd of many other Princes pretensions, which may all be recommended in his Majesty's name, and by his Ministers there, but not with that earnestness and distinction, which I should be glad the Crown of *England* would express,

452 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

express, upon all occasions, in what concerns your Highness or your family.

I beg your Highness's pardon for so long an interruption, and your belief of my being ever, with great devotion and truth,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer,

My Lord, Hague, September 20. N. S. 1678.

YOUR Lordship will have found by my last to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, what the great affair here was like to end in ; and by Mr. *Hyde*'s this ordinary, that it has absolutely taken that ply which was then designed by the Prince and Pensioner, and approved by Monsieur *de Lyra* as all that could be wished ; or, at least, that they could propose to themselves, after the course it has run for these two or three months past. The circumstances with which it was concluded yesterday, may be worth his Majesty's knowledge ; and therefore, I thought fit to trouble your Lordship with them.

When it was proposed in the form I mentioned in my last, the town of *Amsterdam* opposed it, and said absolutely, they had no orders from their principals, farther than barely to ratify the treaty, without other circumstances or conditions : that for any security could be proposed to the *Spaniards* in their treaty, or, afterwards, for *Flanders*, it was provided for sufficiently, in the article between his Majesty and this State, concerning a guarantee to be given by them jointly for the peace between *France* and *Spain*.

In this proposition the town of *Amsterdam* (which used ever to have one or two of the great towns in close intelligence

intelligence with them, and two or three of the small ones in a servile dependance) had now the ill-luck not to be seconded by any one town of the whole Province of *Holland*; but all of them run down the Deputies of that town with such violence, and particular resentment against their conduct in the whole course of this negotiation, that they suffered the thing to pass without any farther debate or opposition, and to be drawn up with all the strength that the Prince could desire, both as to the *Dutch* Ambassadors declaring to the *French* at *Nimeguen*, upon delivering the ratifications, that it was done upon this condition, that the treaty likewise with *Spain* should be ratified by the time limited, and afterwards duly executed; or else, that the treaty should be wholly void: and also to the States declaring to his Majesty, that in default of such performance, the late treaty between his Majesty and this State should take effect; and, *le cas du traité seroit tenu pour échu*.

In the whole course of this affair, which held in the States of *Holland* from three yesterday afternoon, till six, and afterwards passed in the States General; all the towns of *Holland*, except *Amsterdam*, as well as all the other Provinces, declared in all their whole discourses upon this whole subject, that they owed the peace and restitution of the towns, and the saving of *Flanders*, wholly to his Majesty: that, without the last treaty, they saw plainly, *France* would have yielded to no terms with *Spain*, nor have made good their own offers, in several points, to this State: that nothing but a firm union of this State with *England*, could make any stop against the ambition and greatness of *France*; and therefore that they must ever stick firm to the alliance with the Crown of *England*, and look upon it as their *salvator*: which was the word that run among them. And the Prince himself told me, that he never saw such a firmness generally among them, as was
upon

upon this point ; nor such a confusion and silence, as that of the Deputies of *Amsterdam* upon it.

After this was done, the Nobles of *Holland*, being the first member of the Province, taking occasion from a protest which the town of *Amsterdam* had put in some days since, against those which intended to difficult or delay the ratification with *France*, brought in formally a counter-protest against the town of *Amsterdam*, ripping up their whole conduct in the course of this affair, laying this peace at their doors, and the ruinous consequence of it to the present trade of these countries, as well as to the interest of this State, and the Princes their neighbours and allies ; especially upon the points of *Cleves* and *Juliers* ; and protesting the town of *Amsterdam* to be answerable for all the mischiefs that could any way come upon this State, by reason of such an unsafe and infamous peace.

Upon the reading of it, Monsieur *Valkener* turned pale as a clout, so as every body took notice of it ; and after it was read, the Deputies of that town all confessed, that the Nobles had reason in all they alledged, and that they had only one thing to say for themselves, which was, the plea of necessity ; having been of opinion, it was impossible for the State to support the war any longer.

Thus your Lordship will find how true a measure I gave his Majesty of this country, upon my last return from *Nimeguen* after *du Gros's* errand, both as to what effect his Majesty's steadiness and firmness would have in advancing the Prince's credit and interest, and devolving the whole dependance of this State upon his Majesty ; and likewise as to what effect every loose pace we made with them, would certainly have, in throwing them wholly upon *France*, even in spite of all the Prince should be able to do in restraining them. I will only add now my own opinion as to what will follow the peace ; which is, that whereas it has been the

the general thought, that the Prince's authority was kept up by the war, and would decline upon the peace: I believe quite the contrary, and that it will very much increase upon the peace itself, because every body will see by the course of affairs afterwards, that the Prince was all this while in the true interests of the country; and that those who advanced such a peace as this, were certainly out of it, either upon faction, or corruption, or want of good sense: and by what I hear of the town of *Amsterdam* themselves, I believe these two or three men that have led them in this course, will certainly come, in a little time, to lose their credit: and I have some reason to think, Monsieur *Valkener* would already be glad to compound for that.

I cannot but add one word which passed last night between the Prince and me upon this occasion; which was, that I had not known a bolder action of one that was counted a timorous man, than this of *Valkener*, to set himself up at the head of a party here in opposition to his Highness; not only in regard of his authority in the State, or his *appuy* from *England*; but chiefly in regard of his Highness being so absolute in the interests of the country: for otherwise, I should not think it a bold thing, if *Valkener* were in it, and his Highness out of it. Upon which the Prince replied, no; but on the contrary, it would be a bold thing for me to be out of it; and those that have been so, you will see ruined, even by the peace they have promoted.

In short, his Majesty's firmness, and the Prince's saving of *Mons*, have brought the thing to this head, and left his Highness in the posture he stands. It will, I doubt not, continue, while his Majesty is firm and steady in his present measures; and *France* is so sensible of the ill pace they have made in the first difficulty about evacuating the towns, that the several Ministers

nisters of that Crown make it their business to clear themselves of it; since they find it will not pass here to throw it upon the *Swedes*; but I do not see how they can ever recover the trust they have lost by it in this country, nor the credit of their party here.

Your Lordship will find in Mr. *Hyde's* letter, two points upon which the Prince desired us to write this ordinary; one about the satisfaction of his debts from *Spain* by the cession of *Mastricht*: the other about the Princess's portion. The introduction he gave them was, that now he saw all public business draw to an end here, he would begin to think of his own.

Upon the first, I having seen his Highness since Mr. *Hyde*, I advised a turn in it which he approved of; that was, not to pretend absolutely a cession of *Mastricht* and *Limburgh* at present, but only that *Spain* should leave them in the hands of the Prince, till they found out a way of acquitting his debts; the difficulties whereof will, in all appearance, put them upon this expedient themselves: this I offered, because I knew Monsieur *de Lyra* had seemed much surprised and shocked at this proposition this morning from the Pensioner; tho' I have reason to believe, they are not unprepared for it at *Madrid*. The Prince desires the orders his Majesty sends to his several Ambassadors upon this subject may run in that form.

For the other, about the portion, he desires his Majesty will either pay it by the proportions of times agreed on, or else by setting apart such a sum of the monthly tax given by the Parliament, and including this portion as will make the payment within the time agreed on, which is, I think, about 4000*l.* per month, there being one of the two years already past.

Your Lordship will have observed in my last letter to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, the mention of one I had received from the King to the States and myself, a-
bout

bout two ships taken three years since by a *Zealand* caper.

The letters came thro' Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* office; but in such a stile, as Mr. *Hyde* and I were equally amazed, considering the game that was playing here, whether this State should take their measures with *England* or with *France*: so we both resolved it should first be shewed the Prince. The matter was, of itself, in a way of being dispatched, and, not in all above the value of two or three thousand pounds; and coming without any line from the Secretary himself, we took them to be things of form, and procured only by the solicitation of the parties, and without any reflexions of his Majesty's. When I shewed it the Prince, he said, that he hoped I considered the King's service here, more than to deliver such a letter: that he was sure the King never saw it: that it was a letter to have been writ in 1671, when the King was resolved to quarrel with this State; and not now, when he was fallen into measures with them. Nay, he was confident, Mr. Secretary had taken the draught of the letters that were written then, and had only changed the names; that the States would certainly interpret it, that his Majesty had resolved still to quarrel with them, and had taken his measures again with *France*, which would make them try to do so too: that in all the dispositions of that King here, *Zealand* had still been most inclined to *England*, with whom this breach is threatened to begin: for, entering into it with the admiralty there, was, in effect, with the whole Province. In short, he said, it would be absolutely necessary to suppress the letter, till I had farther orders; but that he would undertake this business should certainly be done.

I send your Lordship a copy of the letter, which was directed to me, or the Secretary of the embassy here in my absence; so that if I had not been upon

the place, he had certainly delivered it the next morning. And, which the Prince thought very hard too, a copy of the letter was given to the persons that sollicit it here; so that I was fain to desire them to keep it up to themselves, till they found whether I could do their business, or no, without it. This puts me in mind of repeating again what I writ to your Lordship upon my last return from *Nimeguen*, of the necessity there would be, while his Majesty continues his measures here as they are, for his Ministers to act upon concert with his Highness; at least, till they had made a representation to his Majesty upon their orders, of such consequences as could not be, or were not foreseen in *England* when they were issued. I told the Prince, at his return from the campaign, the first time Mr. *Hyde* and I attended him, that I had written to your Lordship upon this subject, and what you had returned of the commission the King had given you, to assure his Highness of his Majesty's resolution in it. The Prince said to us both upon it, that, the truth was if his Majesty considered him as perfectly in his own interests, it ought to be so; and that the Prince ought to be the King's Ambassador here; and, in that case, he should be able to serve his Majesty: which were just his words; and I thought fit to let your Lordship know them; because, notwithstanding what you were pleased to say, I neither observe any such directions to me, since, either in general, or in this particular; nor any to Mr. *Hyde*, at his coming away; though he brought an instruction with him, which would absolutely have spoiled the King's business here, if, at the Prince's desire, he had not suppressed it. And it is a very hard case for an Ambassador either to hinder his master's service (perhaps ruin it) or else, by suppressing an order, to lie under the lash of a Secretary, who, perhaps, would be pleased with making others smart for his own faults.

There

There is a paper lately sent over to be presented his Majesty from the *Lunenburgh* Ministers at *Nimeguen*, about a difficulty they have met with in seeing Sir *Lyonel Jenkins*, though they pretend to have satisfied the forms his Majesty requires, as to the competition with the Emperor. All I shall say upon it, is, that Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* is bound up by such strict orders in these points, that I do not see how he can possibly, with them, perform the part of a mediator; being absolutely bound up already from seeing one of the *Spanish*, *Danish*, and *Dutch* embassies, and now these of *Lunenburgh*, so much as in third places, or ordinary conversation or business. To either of which I never understood how such orders should be tied, or why that should go any farther than the business or visits of ceremony.

I ask your Lordship's pardon for the length of this trouble, which was intended only to give you such lights as I thought might be necessary, and you would not, perhaps, receive from any other hand.

I am ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, *Hague, September 23. N. S. 1678.*

SINCE my last to your Grace, nothing hath passed here, but what you will have foreseen, which ended with Mr. *Hyde's* proposition from his Majesty. The States excused themselves from any formal answer to it for some time, not knowing how the difficulties between *France* and *Spain* were like to determine.

The

The *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* seemed peremptory in their demands, especially of *Beaumont*, and the chatelentye of *Aeth*; but at length submitted themselves to the arbitrage of this State, as the *Spaniards* had done to his Majesty and them. Monsieur d'*Avaux* came post hither from *Nimeguen* to support his Master's right upon this arbitrage, which was to be dispatched in five days, so as to make way for signing the peace with *Spain*, before the last day left for the ratifications with this State, which was the 21st current. But before he had been two days here, a courier came to him with news, that the King of *France* had generously remitted both points to the *Spaniards*, without any arbitrage, so as the peace was to be signed on *Saturday* last the 17th. This was done, and the States on *Monday* resolved to exchange their ratifications with *France*; but, at the same time, to declare, that it was upon condition of their performing the treaty with *Spain*; if not, this between them and *France* to be void. Before this, they resolved likewise to give Mr. *Hyde* and me their formal answer to his Majesty's last proposition, that though *France* had signed the treaty with *Spain*, and theirs with *France* would thereupon be ratified, yet they had declared to his Majesty, it was with this resolution, that if *France* either refused to ratify their treaty with *Spain*, or to perform afterwards the conditions of it, this State should hold, *le cas du dernier traité avec sa Majesté pour échû*; and should be ready to perform the condition of it.

This was all the Prince himself proposed to bring it to here, since the game had gone too far to be recovered in any other manner, and the town of *Amsterdam* was against this itself.

Upon the exchange of ratifications made at *Nimeguen* between *France* and this State, on *Wednesday*, in pursuance of this answer from the States, Mr. *Hyde* embarked yesterday morning for *England*, and with him

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 461

him my Lord Offory, resolved to see your Grace in Ireland, before any thoughts of returning hither. All that is now left to be done, is, to enter into guarantees with this State for what remains of *Flanders*; and to try if the progress of *France* upon the *Rhine* may be prevented by any steps towards a general peace: the first whereof, and which the Prince is much concerned in, has been made already, by his Majesty's proposition at *Nimeguen*, for a general suspension of arms; which *France* yet refuses to come to upon the score of *Sweden*, as they give out; but, as others believe, upon their own.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, October 7. N. S. 1678.

BY my letter this ordinary to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, your Lordship will find an account of my late journey to *Amsterdam*, and to the Prince at *Hoogshoore*, about 24 leagues from this place, with one part of the errand that occasioned it, and the success of it. There were two other occasions which led me to it, that I thought not fit to mention in a letter which must pass so many eyes; reserving them for yourself, and, by your means, for his Majesty and Royal Highness; since one of them had its rise in private confidence from the Prince; and the other from your Lordship's last letter; wherein you seemed so desirous of knowing his opinion upon two points of great consequence, which I thought it necessary you should be satisfied in

by the first, without attending the Prince's return, which was like to draw out into some length.

Upon his Highness leaving the town last, he very earnestly recommended to me the making a journey to *Amsterdam*; not only for discovering their minds there as to the point of the guarantee, of which I have given Mr. Secretary an account; but likewise as to the manner they are like to live with the Prince hereafter, now the peace is made; since their carriage in the late debate here about *Mastricht*, gave the Prince a suspicion, that they were resolved to do it declaredly, upon all occasions, against his opinion and interests, however united with the sense of the other Provinces, and even the rest of the towns in this. At least, he believed, Monsieur *Valkener* would act that part. But, that his Highness might the better take his measures, he desired to have some certain light, both as to his particular resolutions, and how he was likely to be seconded in them by Monsieur *Hoeft*; that is, how far supported, or where deserted in them. For the town of *Amsterdam* is absolutely governed by these two men without any other person so much as pretending at present, any share in it. I have had long discourses with them both, and not only together, but separately; and, as the Prince thinks, very much to the advantage of his affairs and service here. Monsieur *Valkener*, who is a very thoughtful, designing, and covered man, yet went so far with me, as to say plainly at last, that, for his part, he should ever shew as much respect to his Highness's person and interests, as any man in the country, while he kept within the established constitutions of the State; but if, upon any occasion, he should offer to go beyond them, he must oppose it as far as he could; and believed, not only that his town would do so too, but that they would be applauded in it by the other towns of this Province; who might yet in the States, upon other respects, give
opinions

opinions different from them : that there were two different sorts of people for the Prince to make use of here ; one that were fit to follow him at Court, in his hunting and entertainments ; another that were fit for the magistracy of this country, and had generally a reputation not only of good patriots, but of men of ability and honesty, and such as the people generally were content to trust : that he needed not name any such men ; the Prince could not fail of knowing them : for if he did not by his own observing, common fame would tell him who they were in every town : and that, if the Prince would have all go easy and unanimous here, he must, when he had any thing to propose in the States, first send for some of these men from the several towns, and discourse it with them apart : if he found they agreed in opinion about it, he might reckon the thing would certainly and easily pass in the States : if they differed, he should then send for them to talk it over with them together, and tell them, he found they were of several minds, and therefore, he desired they would reason it with one another before him ; which would produce an agreement, one way or other, among them, as well as the debates here in the States had in a manner ever done ; and accordingly his Highness might take his certain measures.

Monsieur *Hoest*, who is a much franker man, and of greater credit, though less opinion, than the other went farther with me : for after some things of the same kind, about the Prince's consulting with persons trusted and esteemed in their towns, taking his measures previously with those of *Amsterdam* as well as other towns, which were publicly known to be at his devotion ; not confining his conversation to very few persons, and of another sort, nor the consultations of business to any one or two men alone : he ended with me, at last, in this conclusion, that nothing was so necessary here, as a perfect union between the Prince
and

and States, and the taking away all appearance of the least difference between them; which would but let *France* into the State, by siding with one party or other, and with either of them just as would serve their present turn. That for his part, he was so sensible of this, and had such an opinion of the Prince, both as to his moderation, and his understanding his own interest aright, to be perfectly joined with those of the country; that notwithstanding all jealousies which had unhappily been raised here, or might be so hereafter, perhaps, industriously, he was absolutely resolved he would trust the Prince, till he should see him engaged in courses against the interests and liberties of the State. That, in such a case, he should enter into the *bonne partie*, and oppose it according to his duty: but that, in the mean time, he would not go about to hurt both his country and the Prince too, by increasing any difference between them, upon suspicions, or jealousies, that he did not see a plain ground for.

As to particular occasions of difference between the Prince and States, now after the peace, he would not see any; unless it should happen about a second reduction of the army, and to such a proportion as might be maintained by the ordinary revenue of the country. But when I told him, the time of proposing this was chiefly considerable; whether before they should see the general peace made, or *France* likewise begin to disarm: and upon this itself, they ought to debate the whole thing, privately, with the Prince of *Orange*, before they brought it into the States: he told me, he thought I had reason, and he should be of that mind: and ended with saying many things of the greatest esteem that could be of the Prince, and very much kindness to his person and interests; desiring me to give his Highness the assurance of it.

Upon

Upon my report of all this to the Prince, he seemed to be extremely pleased with it, and said, I had made a journey to mighty good purpose: and he should make so good use of it, that he doubted not to be able to give a good account of this country, as to what should be their part in the general concerns of *Christendom*, provided his Majesty would be but *steady* in the pursuit of his measures here.

After this I shewed him your Lordship's letter, desiring to know his opinion about his Majesty's reconciling with *France*, in something about *Sweden*; and entering into measures with them, in behalf of that Crown; and likewise about a match with that King to Lady *Anne*, in case it should be pursued: the Prince read it twice over, and very thoughtfully; and after some pause, said, that he could not tell on the sudden, what to think of this letter. That upon his first reading of those lines about reconciling with *France* in something of *Sweden*, he was as much amazed as the stag was that day, at the first blow that was given him. That he had no reason to believe, by the last letters he received from the Duke, or from your Lordship, that there was any change in our councils in *England*, from the late measures we had taken, of preserving *Europe* from the design of *France* upon it. That yet he could not imagine how any body should think we could reconcile with *France* for restoring *Sweden*, without breaking all the measures we had lately taken, and returning absolutely into our former ones with *France*. That this was certainly an artifice of the *French*, who saw they could not close with us directly, upon any thing between ourselves, and so they would ground it upon the business of *Sweden*; which would be in effect the same thing, and bring the business of *Europe* just where it was four or five years ago. That *Sweden* made no pace, nor used no language, but as they were directed by *France*; and so he was sure

they were in this. That the effect of any such agreement between us and *France*, would be the King's wholly losing all his credit, not only with the empire and *Spain*, as returning into the *French* interests, by embracing those of *Sweden*, which were wholly joined with them, but it would likewise shake it here too, and make them return to the opinion they have so long had in this country, that the King would never heartily break from *France*: and that the effect of this would be, to make the States run into the interests of that Crown; as a thing which must befall them, and without remedy. And that nothing could be more ruinous than this, to the affairs of his Majesty here, nor to those particularly of his Highness. That upon any measures which could be taken between his Majesty and *France*, for the restoring *Sweden*, the first action on the *French* side must be the invading *Cleve* and *Wesel*, and the rest of the Duke of *Brandenburg's* territories adjoining; which will not only let in the *French* into the empire on that side, but make them in as great a measure masters of this country, (of which *Cleves* and *Juliers* have ever been esteemed the very key) as they could have been by their conquests in *Flanders*. And that his Highness does not apprehend how his Majesty can take part in such an action; and which must have consequences so directly opposite to all the measures he has lately taken, and to the offers he has made this State about the security of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. That as far as his Highness understands, his Majesty's interests, and that of the Crown of *England*, are, after the peace to enter into such measures with this State, the Emperor, and the Princes of the empire, as may preserve *Flanders*, and keep *France* from overturning the world any farther: to live fairly with *France*, but to enter into no new measures with them; so that upon any ill talent of *France*, about what his Majesty has already done in the saving *Flan-*
ders,

ders, he may have the empire ready to fall into his interests, as he has this State already engaged, by a defensive league, in case of *France's* attacking us. And for *Sweden*, he does not see how his Majesty can go farther than to induce them first to a suspension of arms, and afterwards to some reasonable terms in a peace.

That, for the match between that King and Lady *Anne*, his Highness knows nothing against it, if the King and Duke think it fit, unless it be the time of either doing or treating it; which he believes cannot be before the general peace is made; because it will otherwise have those effects before-mentioned, especially if accompanied by engagements with *France*; unless it should be treated upon the foot of *Sweden's* consenting to such terms of a peace, as the confederates should be likely to fall in with.

This was the substance of the several and large discourses which his Highness made me upon this occasion, and with much concernment; desiring me to represent them to your Lordship, at large, as he would write, in short, his thoughts to you upon them by this post.

After this he took notice of the passage in your Lordship's letter, about the King intending to command my return in a short time; and said upon it, that it could not be fit at the present; but that he would talk with me about the time of it, after the evacuation of the places in *Flanders*, and the treaty of guarantee here should be finished: which being the first steps after the peace, would be of the greatest importance, and declare the intention of this State, as to their measures hereafter with *England* and with *France*. That whenever I left this post, it would be absolutely necessary for his Majesty to have an Ambassador here, and not a less character, since the *French* were resolved ever to have one; and that it would extremely import his Highness what sort of person he sent over: for unless

less it should be one that might live in confidence with him, and have credit in the country here, it were better have none at all.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of YORK.

Hague, October 11. N. S. 1678.

May it please your Highness,

I Received yesterday morning, by Mr. *White*, the honour of a letter from your Highness, with a command which it will be very difficult to perform here; I mean, that of helping her Highness to be *incognito* in this place. The Prince being yet absent, and the Pensioner too, I spoke of it to Monsieur *Van Lewen*, who was hard to be persuaded, that the honours due to her Highness by the States, upon such occasion, should not be performed, solemnly, at her landing. But having acquainted him with the absoluteness of your Highness's commands, both by your letter, and, particularly, by Mr. *White*, I prevailed with him to make no mention of it in the States, till the Prince's return: and this, I hope, may be to-night, or to-morrow at farthest.

For a house to receive her Highness and Lady *Anne*, with their attendants, there was no choice at all in it; and so the Princess Dowager's house is making ready for this purpose; and will, I doubt not, be in order by to-morrow. I could not persuade Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* and Mr. *White* to allow me any other part in this care, besides leaving the whole house empty; which I did early this morning, and them, with the Prince's servants, in all the diligence that could be, of preparing it for her Highness's reception: who, besides the honour of such a piece of gallantry, will have certainly

a very great satisfaction in seeing here such a Princess, as, in all kinds, I do believe, is very hard to be seen any where else. I wish the weather but as fair as the wind, and then, I hope, this adventure will be very soon and very happily achieved.

I beg your Highness's leave upon this occasion, to give you an account of another command I received from your Highness at my coming away ; which was, to speak at large to the Prince about some particulars in his way of living, and conversing here, that your Highness thought of great consequence to his affairs in this country. I did not find an opportunity that made way for it, till now of late, since matters here seemed to fix a little, upon the conclusion of the peace with *Spain*, which gave his Highness occasion of discoursing with me several times, upon this new scene of affairs ; and employing my offices to discover how the town of *Amsterdam* was like to live with him, after the peace. I gave my Lord Treasurer, by last post, a large account of what had passed between me and the two ruling *Burgomasters* there, upon this subject ; and shall now only add to it, that having represented all that matter to the Prince at *Hoogshoore*, and, upon that occasion, the full scope of your Highness's thoughts, he seemed extremely satisfied with both : and assured me, that as there were many applications which might be made in a time of peace, and could not, while his thoughts were wholly taken up with the war ; so he should not now neglect them, though he might hitherto have done it. That he should fall into a new ply ; and that he doubted not to give a good account of this State, in all the public concernments of *Christendom*, if his Majesty could resolve to be *steady* in the measures he had fallen into of late.

I should not have given your Highness so long a trouble, but that I thought you would not be displeased

fed with the knowledge of this particular; and in it my obedience to that command of your Highness of writing without ceremony. I am very confident you will believe it to be without any at all; when I assure your Highness of my being ever with the greatest passion and truth that can be,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, October 11. N. S. 1678.

SINCE my last of the 7th, wherein I gave you a large account of my late journey to *Amsterdam*, and to the Prince in the *Veloue*; and what thoughts and intentions I had met with in both places, about the business of the guarantee: I have likewise given part to the Pensioner of all that passed there, with which he was very much satisfied. But thinking it of the last importance that the thing should meet with no difficulty, after it came once to be proposed here; he was divided in the opinion, whether to let it alone till the next session of the State of *Holland*, which begins next month; because then it might be passed in two days time, without sending it to the towns, the Deputies being here? Or, whether the Prince, the Pensioner, and Monsieur *Van Lewen* to digest the matter with me here, into the form and articles of a treaty; and then for me to go with it, and engage the consent of *Amsterdam* to it, even before the next Assembly of the State? He concluded, that we must expect the Prince's advice upon it; and was, I believe, the more fixed in it, by being himself resolved to go again out of town, after one day's stay here, with intention of not coming back

back till the Prince's return ; which we now expect will be this evening or to-morrow, so as by next post I may possibly give you a farther account of this matter, and I hope I may, in the mean time, receive his Majesty's thoughts upon that project in general, which I gave of it from the Prince and Pensioner's discourses, about a fortnight since.

I told you in my last, of the States deputation, on Friday last, to Monsieur d' Avaux, about the evacuation of *Mastricht*, the general peace, and the quiet of the neighbourhood, especially *Juliers* and *Cleves* : I find by Monsieur *Van Lewen*, who was one of the Deputies, that his answer was, as to the first, that he had yet no orders; but would that night dispatch away an express, and hopes to give them some account of it within four days. For the second, that his master was well disposed to the general peace, and a suspension of arms in order towards it, if his allies could be induced to it. For the third, that it was a thing the King his master reserved to treat with the Ambassadors of this State in *France*, where he had expected them any time these two months, though they were not yet gone. That, in the mean time, the proceedings of the Duke of *Brandenburgh* were such in *Pomerania*, as would of necessity oblige the King his master to invade his territories upon the *Rhine* ; having no other way to make a diversion. Though what towns he should take there, would be without any intention of keeping them.

Monsieur *Van Lewen* added to me, that he wondered to hear Monsieur d' Avaux speak so frankly in this matter, as well as in what concerned his Majesty's mediation ; that there was now no need of it in any thing between *France* and this State ; and that in all things which concern their neighbours or allies, the King his master would rather have the States to interpose their mediation, than his Majesty. And he said, though it passed in discourse, and not at the conference,
yet

yet being a man of reserve, he believed it would not have been said without order, and being first weighed.

Yesterday, Monsieur *d' Avaux* let the States know, that the King his master, not to retard the evacuation of the *Spanish* towns, would draw off his forces now in *Flanders*, to *Huy* (a town between *Namur* and *Liege*) which he intended to fortify; and finding there were seven or eight hundred men of this State at present in it, he desired they would order them to march out, this being a town of the empire; and the States being obliged by their treaty to assist none of the enemies of *France*. I find them here a little surprized with this, and some delays that are yet made in the delivery of *Mastricht*; but no return, I believe, will be made, till the Prince be consulted after his return to this place. I am ever,

S I R,

your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, December 6. N. S. 1678.

I was so infinitely obliged, by the kindness and confidence of a letter I had this day the honour of receiving from your Lordship, by Mr. *Hales*, that I could not delay the acknowledging of it by this post; though to do that as I ought, will, I doubt, be as hard as to deserve it. And, I fear to interrupt your Lordship, at a time so busy as this, will be a greater fault than any omission would have been. I had not before any true prospect of the present scene; and though your Lordship has given me so much light, yet it serves rather to represent the sadness of it, than to discover any remedy to such fatal distempers as have been long breeding,

ing, and are now so violently broken out in our poor unfortunate nation. God alone can be the physician, who governs the hearts of Princes, and the humours of people: for to think of advice from any other, in so many cross accidents, both at home and abroad, as meet to make up this violent crisis, is too great a compliment to put upon any man; and if your Lordship could hope for it, in my opinion, it ought to be from yourself, who have best been able to observe the spring and growth of this distemper, with the dispositions of the body; and by that, as well as by your own natural prudence, must be fitter than any other person to make a judgment upon it. For my own part, it would be more presumption in me than in any man to offer at it, upon many regards; besides that of the distance I am at, and have been so long, and so often, for a great part of my life. Nor do I know one quality to make me fit for it, unless it be not only as near and as sensible, but as unpassioned, and as uninterested concernment in the true good and service of my master and my country, as any man can have. And for this reason, and because your Lordship hath used many times to ask me so kindly, and hear me so favourably, upon smaller occasions; and because I take you to be equally concerned with the public in this, it shall go hard but I will find a way of telling your Lordship, by some hand or other, and in very few words, all that I have been able to think upon it: which can do no hurt, because you may forget it as soon as it is done.

For any accounts of foreign affairs, which your Lordship might have expected if I had come over; the whole course of my dispatches, since I left *England* last, will better inform any body than I myself could do; as having been constant and particular, and thereby containing many things I have forgot. For the question you are pleased to ask about the peace, I cannot

add one word to that short account your Lordship will meet with, in my letter this post to Sir *Joseph Williamson*; unless it be, that nothing seems to me, at present, so necessary in the foreign affairs, as for his Majesty to dispatch away some Minister to *Spain*, whose chief instruction should be, to watch any motion of councils, or negotiations there, for the exchange of *Flanders*: to divert them from any such thoughts, by the greatest assurance of his Majesty's resolving to take it into his constant care and protection: and so to represent the state of our present disorders themselves, as not to dishearten that Court in the hopes that his Majesty may yet be able to perform effectually, what he intends, and promises, in that matter. I think the dispatch of this so much the more necessary, because, I doubt, the present Minister there may, in this conjuncture, be a very ill instrument in such an affair; and be possibly inclined to promote other ends, in what concerneth that very business of *Flanders*, and any exchange of it.

For Mr. *Montague*, I have neither deserved such offices your Lordship speaks of, nor shall trouble myself about making such returns. I am infinitely obliged to your Lordship, for the enquiries you say you will make; and shall be very glad to know my faults, from my enemies as well as my friends; because which way soever I find them, I shall make the same use, that is, to mend them. I stand always upon the ground of having never done either an unjust, or ungentlemanly action in my life; or an unfaithful one to the service of my master, or my country. And whoever may be persuaded otherwise of me, by whisperers, or malice, I shall leave to their own opinions, till they please to make fair enquiries; and concern myself no farther in them nor the consequences. Having, I thank God, at heart, neither hopes to serve, nor faults to answer for.

As

As to Sir Henry Capel, I should be very sorry to think he meant ill to the Crown or kingdom, because I always thought otherwise of him; and cannot reproach myself to have often been deceived by my friends; and, whenever I am, believe I have not more reason to quarrel with them, than with myself for chusing them. For his unkindness to me, I will at least, be as just, as I desire others to be to me; which is, to hear first what he saith of it, before I judge. For any to your Lordship, I shall not easily forgive; because I do not think you have deserved it, upon any public considerations; which are all that should lead him in his present figure. For if your Lordship had not served his Majesty, and the true interests of his crowns with perfect good intention to both, and the best of your power, you have, I am sure, deceived me; which few of my friends, I confess, have done: and, I am confident, your Lordship will never be of that number.

I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, December 30. N. S. 1678.

SINCE my last of the 27th, I have none from you, the contrary winds having now left three pacquets due from England. All the towns of Holland have agreed to the advice of the States General, about deferring the reform, as I mentioned in my last, except Amsterdam alone. What their answer will prove at last, I cannot yet tell; nor whether one man alone, as the head of a single town, will set up directly against all

all the other towns of this province, as well as against all the other provinces; and in a matter appearing to them of so great importance to the State. For tho' the peace be made both by this State and *Spain*, and though the *French* have yet raised no difficulties upon restoring the towns to the *Spaniards*; yet they have declared, they intended to keep their forces in *Flanders*, till they are satisfied in what they demand, as remaining due of their contributions, which amounts to near two hundred thousand pistoles. And for this country, though they have delivered up *Mastricht*, yet they have demanded *Hasselt* and *Maseyck*, by which it would be cut off from the rest of these territories, and have this week posted themselves between *Mastricht* and *Hasselt* on one side, and *Mastricht* and *Maseyck* on the other; so as neither boat nor waggon can go from these provinces to *Mastricht*, but must pass through their quarters; and that town is not yet provided, in any proportion, of cannon or magazines necessary for their defence. Besides, it is known here, that the *French* Ministers and officers lie ready to take into their service immediately all the troops which this State shall disband; and the last letters from their Ambassadors at *Paris*, gave them yet farther apprehensions of the conduct they are to expect from the *French*. For Monsieur *Boreel*, who is of *Amsterdam*, and was deep in the cabal of promoting the peace, writes plainly, that he expects nothing from that Court, upon any of their pretensions: that they were grown so insolent with their prosperity and the ill posture of all their neighbours, as not to trouble themselves with giving reasons, or receiving them upon any thing they treated. To this in general, he writes two particulars, that were something more surprizing; the first was, that Monsieur *Pomponne* had told him, that the King his master had ordered him to take notice of the Prince having turned out the Catholic Magistrates at *Mastricht*,

Mastricht, and put in Protestants in their room, as a thing contrary to his treaty with this State. The second, that Monsieur *de Louvois* had told him, upon discourse of the remaining contributions of *Breda*, that the King his Master had heard what the Prince of *Orange* had said to the States in the deliberations upon that matter: *et le trouvoit mauvais, & que le Prince avoit parlé trop fierement*. Upon the first point, the States Deputies thought fit to discharge the Prince, by taking upon themselves what he had only acted by their orders, and to defend their having acted nothing contrary to the treaty, or innovated any thing in matter of religion at *Mastricht*, but that, on the other side, the *French* had no right to concern themselves in what the States did in the government of a town, which was now become again their own. Upon the second point, which touched only the Prince, his Highness said, that though the States knew he had never spoke any thing upon that occasion, which might deserve that term, yet he was of opinion, no answer should be made upon it: that he was born in a free republic, and that it had so continued hitherto; he could not tell how long it might do so, at the rate they were now treated; but that, while he lived in it, he would, according to his duty, give his advice, and speak his opinion freely in it, without giving account to any of what he said, but to God alone.

These particulars have yet gone no farther, than the Deputies of foreign affairs, and so you will please may not yet be public: but they have occasioned very melancholic reflexions among them, considering what a condition this peace has already brought them into, and what farther consequences they may expect of it, upon the unhappy posture of affairs in *England*, from whence alone they were to hope for support. You will guess by your dispatches this post from *Nimeguen*, at least, as well as we can hear, what issue may be expected

478 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

pected from the parties beginning to enter into conference there. For my part, I am able to make no conjecture, nor, whether a peace with the Emperor, will contribute to the safety, or increase the danger of these countries, and the *Spanish Netherlands*, if the *French* army continue possessed of *Liege*, and the other parts necessary for their making war upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, as they pretend, in favour of the *Swedens*.

I am ever, &c.

To Sir Lyonel Jenkins.

My Lord, Hague, January 20. N. S. 1678-9.

I Have this morning your letters of yesterday's date, with the inclosed papers, by which I am apt to conjecture, that the peace between the Emperor and *France* is drawing towards a period; and, very probably, by the last of this month, being the term last limited by *France* upon the present conditions; I shall therefore prepare myself for my journey towards you, and begin it when you find it necessary for me, *To assist at the signing of the peace, and what other acts shall necessarily require a quorum of our commission.* Which are the words of the order I received upon this occasion, in a letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, dated the 29th of *October* past.

Your Lordship, I find, apprehends whether you shall have notice given you by the parties of their concluding the affair time enough to give me warning of my journey; which, with the other complaints you make, of the little confidence you are in with them, makes me doubt, whether their intentions be, that we should sign or no: for, by their own first draught of the preface, it was plain, they did not intend it: and though

though your Lordship received orders upon that point, *To make no difficulty to sign as Mediators*, in Mr. Secretary's letter to you of *October 29th*, and farther orders about the part his Majesty expected in the style of the preface by his letter of *December 3d*; yet I do not find by any of your letters, that the parties have either expressed their desire or intention, that we should sign as Mediators, or their assent to what your Lordship proposed as to his Majesty's part in the preface. I have other reasons to be a little doubtful how this matter may pass, and one particularly this very morning from Monsieur d'Avaux, having said, in a conference with the Deputies of this State, upon discourse of the treaty, that the parties now treating being of the same religion, the whole business was in the Nuncio's hands. I have likewise the opinions of others here beside my own, that it would be to expose the King's honour too much, for me to go expressly upon the place to sign the treaty, and when I came there, not to be admitted to it. Therefore, to clear all this matter, I humbly offer to your Lordship, whether, seeing the present approaches between the parties, you will not take occasion to let them know, that having formerly acquainted them with the orders you had received, to be ready to sign the treaty, and with the part his Majesty pretended in that case, to have in the preface; and finding it necessary by our commission, that two of us should be present at the act, you desire to know both their intention upon it, and the time they are like to be ready, to the end you may give me notice early enough not to fail attending that service, according to the order you know I have received. They cannot, I suppose, make any scruple to give you a clear and plain answer to such a reasonable question; and thereupon your Lordship's measures and mine will be easily taken: for your Lordship, I know, will not fail of giving me advice by the first, and I shall not, God willing,

willing, fail of beginning my journey accordingly. In case any thing should happen to make them sign of the sudden, without warning to either of us, I suppose, if they desire we should have our parts in it, room may be left for the Mediators to sign afterwards; since it is not a thing material, as to the force of the treaty between the parties. If they will understand it otherwise, I suppose it will be to avoid our signing, in the civillest manner they can. For, upon the whole, the judgment which is here made of this treaty, is, that neither of them like it: and though it is necessity alone which could have brought the Emperor to these terms; yet *France* is perfectly taken at their word, and is sensible enough of the advantages they are like to lose, in not pursuing the war with the Emperor, now *Spain* and this country are out of it.

I am ever, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I desire, what I say of Monsieur d'*Avaux* having told the Deputies this morning, may not be taken notice of, because it was given me by one of them in confidence.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, January 24. N. S. 1678-9.

I Had the honour of one from your Lordship of the 7th, and deferred not upon receipt thereof, to make that use of it here, which you intended; and was, indeed, in a manner, necessary for his Majesty's service and justification, as well as your Lordship's. I communicated the first part of it to some of the States who are in chief credit here, and to the Imperial and

Spanish

Spanish Ministers, who all took notice of those clauses in it, which shewed how great advantages might have been made by bargaining for any towns : how no conditions were proposed, but such as were approved by *Spain* and *Holland* ; and how the thoughts of making any advantages of that itself, were entertained only at the persuasion of Mr. *M——e*. And in the several conversations I have had upon this subject here, I may assure your Lordship, all was done with the success you desired. For the Prince, who was gone from *Utrecht* to *Arnheim*, about the time I received your Lordship's dispatch, I thought there could be no way so good of performing your commands towards his Highness, as by sending him the letter itself, by which he would best see how much you were concerned both in his good opinion, and his particular affair of the money due to him ; which, I am sure, could not have been by me so well expressed, as in your words. You will, before this time, have been fully satisfied, by the letter I sent you inclosed how much the Prince was concerned in your part of what lately happened in *England* ; and how little reason you had to apprehend any change of his Highness's opinion in what concerned your Lordship upon that occasion : and, I know very well, he writ that letter with kinder intentions, than only of making you a compliment at that time. For the money, he never said one word of it to me in several conversations about these matters, farther than complaining of his own ill-luck, since he was sure to have received it within four or five days, at the time when that trouble was given your Lordship there ; which he reckoned upon as what must certainly delay it, till some better settlement in his Majesty's affairs, and especially that of the revenue.

Having acquitted myself of the duty I owed your Lordship upon that first part of your letter ; I find another I owe to his Majesty upon the latter ; of which

I despair of being able to acquit myself as I ought to do, or as the sense of so great a favour justly obliges me to. The distinction his Majesty is pleased to make between me and other men, both in esteeming me fit for the discharge of so great a trust, and in offering to be himself at the charge of Mr. Secretary *Coventry's* retiring out of it; is what, I am sure, I shall never live to forget, though I can never hope to deserve; and therefore must beg of your Lordship to assist me in making the heartiest and humblest acknowledgments to his Majesty, that any servant can make to the best master in the world. After this is done, I am very sorry that I must make so true and plain a confession of myself, as I am forced to do upon this occasion. If I found myself capable of doing his Majesty the service that would become me in such a post, I should esteem it the greatest, and indeed the only happiness that could befall me at this time, and in the poor remainders of my life. But the sensible decays I feel of late in myself, and which must increase every day with my age and ill health, make me absolutely despair of acquitting myself as I ought, and would be necessary for his Majesty's service, in a post that requires not only great abilities, but good health, and all the application that can be; neither of which I can either ways promise either his Majesty or myself. And I may pretend to be so honest a man, as never to make so ill a bargain for so good a master; which would be like selling him a horse very dear, that I knew to be old and restiff, and not at all fit for the service he designed him. I beg your Lordship to represent this to his Majesty, not as an affected modesty, nor as a speaker's form of disabling himself when he is chosen. For your Lordship may please to remember, I writ the same thing to you six months ago: and Mr. *Hyde* knows very well the thoughts of this kind he both found and left me in at his last being here. The season I have
since

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 483

since passed, in a place so unkind to my health, has given me a great deal of reason to continue them, and to think myself not at all fit to enter upon so great and laborious an employment, or even to continue this longer than the spring; beyond which time I can foresee little use his Majesty can have of me here. And whenever he shall please to end it, I doubt not but he will give me leave to seek for a little better health in some warmer climate; and, I am sure, he shall never find a better subject, how useles a servant soever I may have been; and that none shall ever make more passionate wishes for his happiness and safety, than I shall do all the days of my life.

I cannot end this, without making your Lordship likewise my particular acknowledgments for your favour and good opinion, which I shall ever esteem among my best possessions. But having had the honour of your agreeing so often with me in what we have talked of, I cannot but be confident, that if you knew me as well as I do myself, you would be perfectly of my mind in this matter; as I should be of yours, if I found myself, indeed what your Lordship is pleased to esteem me. That which I hope we both agree in, is, the belief that you can never meet with a greater and sincerer passion, than that wherewith I have been so long, and shall be,

Your's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, *Rbenen, February 6. N. S. 1678-9.*
UPON this day se'night I received at the *Hague* an express from Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, pressing me to come away immediately to *Nimeguen*, upon the assurance he then had, the treaty would be signed there
the

the next day, and that my presence would be necessary to make up a commission at that time. Whereupon, finding my orders express in that case, I parted the same day from the *Hague*, and made a shift to get to *Nimeguen* the next, being *Tuesday* at night. The *Thursday* following I went to the Prince of *Orange* at *Arnheim*, upon a letter from his Highness, and returned so late that night as to have no part in the dispatch by that ordinary, which was the second I have missed since my last to you from the *Hague*. I communicated to his Highness the orders I received by yours of the 14th past, which came to me the day after my arrival at *Nimeguen*. He was very ready to perform the part his Majesty expected from him upon that occasion; but said, I knew very well he had never been able to hinder libels and pasquins from being printed here against himself, and so could not assure me of hindering them against his Majesty; but that he would endeavour it, and hoped he might be able to do it at *Utrecht*, but advised me to address myself to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, where he could not undertake for it. He took occasion to tell me, that the Pensioner of *Amsterdam* had been with him the day before, upon the election of the Schepers for this year: that falling into the discourse of the affairs of *England*, he had told him, that the general report and belief at *Amsterdam*, was, that the great preparations made by *France* in their sea ports, were to make the King master of his Parliament; and that was the reason we took no notice of them in *England*. I took this for a libel spread here by the same hands from which you expected they should be sent and printed to be spread in *England*; but the Prince said, he had reason to believe it was given out by the *French*, to damp all hopes that this State might have of any support from *England*: and that he had received two letters upon the same

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 485

same subject from *Amsterdam*, before the Pensioner of that town had told him of it.

I shall not need tell you of the peace having been signed last night about 10 of the clock, between the Emperor and *France*, and agreed to be so this day between the *Imperialists* and *Swedes*: you will know the whole course of that affair, with all circumstances, by an express this day from my colleague, and how unnecessary a journey I have made in the worst season that I ever felt, and upon pure obedience to the orders you sent me: for I had no reason to think the *Imperialists* would yield a point they had ever contested, and, therefore, I had desired my colleague to inform himself of it before he sent for me. It is now past, and I have only reason to be satisfied, that all was agreed to by the parties which you seemed to desire for his Majesty's honour in the preface, as well as for his inclusion in the treaty. This morning I left *Nimwegen*, and thought to have reached *Utrecht* this night; but the ways are almost impassible for a coach, by the great drifts of snow; so that all I can hope for, is, to be there to-morrow night. From thence, I resolve to go to *Amsterdam*, and speak with the Magistrates in both places, about searching and preventing what you apprehend from those presses: and because I am not like to be in *Holland* time enough for next ordinary, I dispatch this away to *Utrecht* by express, in hopes it may get time enough to the *Hague*, to go away with the ordinary to-morrow night, that so you might know something of my motions, as well as of my late omissions, which have been occasioned by them.

I am ever, &c.

W

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, February 21. N. S. 1678-9.

HAVING since my last had several occasions of discoursing with the Prince upon the subject of your Lordship's last letter, and the account you were pleased to give there both of his Majesty's conduct and your own, in those negotiations which were so much talked on of late; his Highness was very full in his expressions of justifying your Lordship upon having done nothing but with his Majesty's order, even in writing; and could not talk of Mr. M——'s part in it, without the greatest indignation in the world. For the thing itself, he would say little, but, that it was past, and so it was to no purpose to talk of it: that no body had any thing left to do since the peace, but to play an ill game the best they could, and so he resolved to do here: but nothing he could now do would signify much towards the common safety, unless *England* could grow into a posture of being more united at home, and more considered abroad, than they seemed likely to be by the present course of our affairs; which he ever talks of with great concernment. Since the commission I received to go again to *Nimeguen*, to continue there the figure of his Majesty's mediation, upon the recalling of Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, he was very inquisitive into the reason of it; which I could not give him; having received barely a commission to act alone in that function, and three lines only from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, to tell me, he had sent it by his Majesty's order. All we could guess, was the design of sparing so much money, by ending Mr. *Hyde's* and Sir *Lyonell's* embassy, now the peace was so near concluded, and continuing mine only for the decency of the mediation till the Assembly should break up. And the Prince said upon it, that he hoped, however, the King might
make

make some good use of it ; and since the peace of the North would certainly be made, now the Emperor's was so, he thought it would be very much better, that his Majesty should make it, than *France*, especially that between *Brandenburb* and *Sweden* ; and thereby endeavour to draw some dependance of those two Princes upon himself after the peace, which, he doubted, would otherwise fall on *France* : he said besides, that he would think of this matter within two or three days, and tell me, if not write into *England*, what should occur to him upon it, before I went to *Nimeguen* : and, that the sooner the peace of the North was now made, the better ; that *France* might thereby have no longer a pretext of keeping the seven towns in *Cologne*, *Juliers*, and *Liege* ; whereby they are posted so, as to awe this country and *Flanders*, and to be ready for any new design upon them.

In this conference, and one before, his Highness desired me to write to your Lordship, and put you in mind of his money ; concerning which you had expressed so great concernment in your last to me. His Highness said, he did not doubt but this sum might be easily advanced upon that act which provided for it, in case the whole security were not engaged some other ways, which he hoped your Lordship has had the kindness and justice to prevent.

In the midst of your Lordship's great affairs, I know very well, I ought to give you as few and as short troubles as I can ; and therefore shall not lengthen this beyond the assurances of my being ever,

My Lord,

your, &c.

To

To the Earl of Sunderland.

My Lord, Hague, February 28. N. S. 1678-9.

ON *Saturday* last, I received the honour of one from your Lordship of the 11th, and this morning another of the 14th; both of them bringing me his Majesty's command for my immediate return; and the last, a letter of revocation to the States General. I have this afternoon communicated both to the Prince, who finding me pressed to make so much diligence in my journey, has made it formally his desire to me, that I will go away, without taking notice here of my absolute revocation, or, thereupon, any formal leave of the States, which, he says, may be done as soon as I am there, if his Majesty pleases; and about the time my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins* shall arrive here. His Highness takes this to be a point so important to his Majesty's service, and to his own interests here at this time, which, he says, are the same with his Majesty's, that he is sure (as he is pleased to say) the King will give him leave to govern such a circumstance as this is; and therefore says, he will take it upon himself; and his Majesty will know the reasons when I have the honour to attend him. I confess, I could see no prejudice in this to his Majesty, nor to any, unless myself (on the account of the usual presents upon a revocation); I therefore consented to it; and shall thereupon be ready, I hope, to embark to-morrow, or next day, if wind and weather suffer me. Though the Prince had not desired this way of parting, I have another reason would, of necessity, have engaged me to it; which is, my being so much indebted here, by not having received my money since my coming over in *July* last, that it would have been impossible for me to have carried my goods and family away from hence, without attending the necessary dispatches from the

Exchequer;

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 489

Exchequer; which, I doubt, by the style of both your Lordship's letters, pressing me to so much haste in my journey, would not have passed with his Majesty for a good excuse of my not coming away.

The common occurrences will be transmitted to your Lordship by Mr. *Meredith*, as has been usual: so that, after having very heartily given your Lordship joy upon your entrance into an employment of so great weight and consequence to his Majesty's service, with my true wishes of all the satisfaction that can be from it, both to his Majesty and yourself, I shall end with the professions of,

My being ever, &c.

*The private Letter of the same Date to the Earl
of S——d.*

I Must leave it to time to tell you, whether your letter as Secretary of State, and acquainting me with his Majesty's having sent for me over to enter upon the same post, were as welcome to me, as, I am sure, it was surprising, after my preparations and thoughts had been turned for a week together to *Nimeguen*. But I cannot forbear assuring you, in the mean time, that nothing could be welcomer, than a short one I received with it from my Lord *Sunderland*; by which I found he was pleased with the new employment, and not unsatisfied with the prospect of our affairs. I take your Lordship to be so good and universal a judge, that I cannot easily believe you should be deceived in what concerns either the public or yourself; and therefore cannot chuse but raise from it good presages to both: otherwise, I confess, I see nothing to change my opinion of public affairs, or my resolutions as to my

own part in them; though, I find, my friends have so different thoughts of both. I wish I may find any thing to undeceive me when I come over. In the mean time, I should be infinitely glad to contribute more than my wishes towards the ends you seem to propose yourselves. And if I could think myself capable of doing it, neither the King, nor your Lordship, would find a truer servant. In the mean time, I will only say, that among all you have, there is none can take more part in all that concerns your Lordship, nor that can be more unfeignedly than I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

Hague, February 28. N. S. 1678-9.

I Received last *Saturday* the honour of one from your Lordship of the 11th; which, I confess, surprised me more than any I ever had from you; coming not only after my orders and preparations for *Nimeguen*; but after my wife had told me from your Lordship, how all that affair had passed; and after I had written to her, how infinitely sensible I was of the obligations I had to your Lordship in the whole course of it, and how perfectly I was satisfied, as to myself with the ply it had taken. Time alone must tell, if either his Majesty or I have reason to be satisfied with the change he has since made in that measure, which will depend upon the success of it, and of my being of the use designed in so great a post, towards those public ends, that, I am confident, your Lordship aims at in it, and which none can answer for. I wish to God I could deserve half the honour his Majesty does me by his good
opinion

to the KING, the Prince of ORANGE, &c. 491

opinion ; for I never can the kindness of your intention (whatever may happen) though no man can be more sensible than I am of it. For the rest, I shall not trouble your Lordship farther with any discourses upon that subject, being like to have the honour of waiting on you so soon : for, I hope, God willing, to go aboard the yacht to-morrow or *Wednesday*, if wind and weather suffer me ; and, with your Lordship's good leave, shall make my first step into the *Cockpit*, where you will then find, I am sure,

A most humble servant.

A N

to the KING, the PRINCE & BISHOP, etc. etc.

A N
I N T R O D U C T I O N
T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

By Sir W. TEMPLE, Bart.

*Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine tangit
Humanos animos——*

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

By W. TEMPLE.

Printed by J. B. G. in the Strand, 1790.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

I Have often complained, that so ancient and noble a nation as ours, so renowned by the fame of their arms and exploits abroad, so applauded and envied for their wise and happy institutions at home, so flourishing in arts and learning, and so adorned by excellent writers in other kinds, should not yet have produced one good or approved general history of England. That of France has been composed with great industry by Des Serres; with judgment and candor by Mezeray. That of Spain, with great diligence and eloquent style, by Mariana. That of the Empire, with much pains and good order, as well as learning, by Pedro de Mexia: but ours have been written by such mean and vulgar authors, so tedious in their relations, or rather collections, so injudicious in the choice of what was fit to be told, or to be let alone, with so little order, and in so wretched a style, that as it is a shame to be ignorant in the affairs of our own country, so it is hardly worth the time or pains to be informed; since for that end, a man must read over a library, rather than a book; and, after all, must be content to forget more than he remembers.

'Tis true, some parcels or short periods of our history have been left us by persons of great worth and learning, much honoured or esteemed in their times; as, part of Edward IV. and Richard III. by Sir Thomas Moor; Henry VII. by Sir Francis Bacon; Henry VIII. by
the

the Lord Herbert; Edward VI. by Sir John Haywood; and Queen Elizabeth, by Mr. Camden. There are, besides these, many voluminous authors of ancient times in Latin, and of modern in English, with some foreigners, as Froissart and Polidore Virgil; out of all which might be framed a full and just body of our general history, if collected with pains and care, and digested with good order; for the architect is only wanting, and not the materials for such a building.

I will confess, I had it in my thoughts at one time of my life, and the most proper for such a work, to make an abridgment of our English Story, having observed that Mezeray's Abrege of his own, was more esteemed, and much more read than his larger volume; but those thoughts were soon diverted by other employments, wherein I had the hopes, as well as the intentions, of doing some greater services to my country. I have since endeavoured to engage some of my friends in the same design, whom I thought capable of atchieving it, but have not prevailed; some pretending modesty, and others too much valuing ease.

Therefore to invite and encourage some worthy spirit, and true lover of our country, to pursue this attempt, I have consented to the publishing of this Introduction to the History of England, wherein I have traced a short account of this island, the names, the inhabitants, and constitutions thereof, from the first originals, as far as I could find any ground of probable story, or of fair conjecture; since philosophers tell us, That none can be said to know things well, who does not know them in their beginnings. I have farther deduced it through the great and memorable changes of names, people, customs, and laws that passed here, until the end of the first Norman reign, which made the last and great period

riod of this kingdom, leaving the successions and constitutions since that time, so fixed and established, as to have lasted for the space of above six hundred years, without any considerable alteration from so long a course of time, or such variety of events, as have since arrived in the world.

I have hereby beaten through all the rough and dark ways of this journey; the rest lies fair and easy, thro' a plain and open country; and I should think myself happy, to see it well pursued by some abler hand, for the honour of our nation, and the satisfaction of our own, as well as foreign readers, who shall be curious to know our story. I wish it may be performed with the same good intentions, and with much better success, than this small endeavour of mine.

A N
I N T R O D U C T I O N
T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

BRITAIN was by the ancients accounted the greatest island of the known world, and for ought is yet certain, may be so still, notwithstanding the later discoveries of *Madagascar* and *Japan*, which are by some brought into competition. It extends from north to south about ten degrees, and about two hundred miles in the breadth of its most extended angles. It was anciently called *Albion*, which seems to have been softened from *Alpion*, the word *Alp* in some of the original western languages, signifying generally very high lands or hills, as this isle appears to those who approach it from the continent. But of those times there is no certainty remains in story, more than that it was so called, and very little known to the rest of the world.

By

By the *Romans*, and some time before *Cæsar*, it was called *Britannia*; concerning which name very much debate, and no agreement, has been among the modern learned of our country, or of others. After raking into all the rubbish of those authors, that which seems to me most probable is, that the strangers who came over into this island upon the score of traffick, from the coasts of *Gaul* or *Germany*, called the inhabitants by one common name of *Britbs*, given them from the custom among them of painting their naked bodies and small shields with an azure blue, which by them was called *Brith*, and distinguished them from strangers who came among them: from this name of the inhabitants, the *Romans*, upon their invasions, conquests, and colonies established in *Gaul*, which brought them first acquainted with this island, called it *Britannia*, by giving a *Latin* termination to a barbarous name, and the same which appears to have been usual with them, by the appellations of many other countries, that fell under their commerce or conquests, as *Mauritania*, *Lusitania*, *Aquitania*, and several others commonly known. The curious may observe this care of the *Romans*, in giving their own terminations to many barbarous countries, and forming easy and pleasant sounds out of the harshest and most offensive to such elegant tongues and ears as theirs: I shall instance only in three, among many more, that are obvious to such as please themselves with these speculations. The province of *Britain* in *France* was called among the natives *Al Mor*; which signified *ad mare*, or near the sea; from this the *Romans* called it *Armorica*. The isle between the branches of the *Rhine*, which divide for some distance before they fall into the sea, was called by the Old *Germans* *Vat Awe*, which signifies fat or fruitful earth; and from this was framed the *Latin* word *Batavia*. The north east part of *Scotland* was by the natives called *Cal Dun*, which signifies, a hill of hazel, with
which

which it was covered ; from whence the *Romans* gave it the name of *Caledonia* : all which have lasted in their language to this day.

The *Britains* were little known abroad, before the first entrance of the *Romans* into their isle, or the preparations and enquiries they made in order to that expedition : the coasts only opposite to *Gaul* and *Belgium*, were frequented by merchants from thence, who came thereby acquainted with them, but little with the inland provinces : and these were the men from whom *Cæsar* drew his best intelligence concerning the country he intended to invade.

All that we find related of them by any credible witnesses or authority, before the *Romans* entered, is, that the whole country was filled with infinite numbers of people, mightily abounding in all sorts of cattle or beasts, both wild and tame ; their houses poorly built, and scattered all over the country, without observance of order or distance, by which villages are composed ; but the *Britains* were placed as every man liked, and at smaller or greater distances, as they were invited by the fertility of soil, or the convenience of wood or of water. They lived most upon milk, or flesh which they got by hunting ; little upon corn, which was not in much esteem or plenty among them. What cloaths they wore to cover any parts of their bodies, were usually of the skins of beasts ; but much of their body, as arms, legs, and thighs, was left naked ; and in many of them, all ; what was naked, was painted with blue. This was universal among them, whether esteemed an adornment, or of terror to their adversaries, or to distinguish them from all their neighbours that came among them, as friends or as enemies.

Their towns were most upon their coasts, and founded for the advantage of havens, and the recourse of strangers from the continent, to buy and sell, or exchange

change wares with those of the island. These inhabitants were much more civilized than those of the inland country, by the commerce and frequentation of other nations, especially the *Gauls*, who had long before been civilized by the *Roman* colonies. The commodities exported out of the isle, were chiefly hides and tin; which last was peculiar to this country, and in much use abroad, both in nearer and remoter regions, where this island was chiefly known by the product of this commodity, conveyed among them at so great distances, and so much in request. Some silver they had, but not in common use, as having few mines, and little knowledge how to improve them, either in the digging or refining: pearls they had too, and frequently found among them, but neither clear, nor coloured like those of the orient, and therefore in low esteem among the *Romans*; but little iron, and that used either for arms, or for rings, which was a sort of money current among them; the rest was of brass, which was brought from abroad, and employed only for this use.

Their language, customs and religion, were generally the same with those of the *Gauls*, before the *Roman* conquests in that province, which were much earlier than in *Britain*: this affinity made them frequently assist the *Gauls* upon the coasts, in their wars against the *Romans*, and gave the first occasion of *Cæsar's* invading *Britain* for revenge and safety, as well as conquest and glory.

Their government was like that of the ancient *Gauls*, of several small nations under several petty Princes, which seem the original governments of the world, and deduced from the natural force and right of paternal dominion: such were the *Hords* among the *Goths*, the *Clans* in *Scotland*, and *Septs* in *Ireland*. Whether these small *British* Principalities descended by succession, or were elected by the advantages of age, wisdom

wisdom or valour in the families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon great or common dangers, the chief commander of all their forces, was chosen by common consent in general assemblies; as *Cæsar* relates of *Cassivelaunus* against his invasion. The same was done upon their revolts against the *Roman* colonies, under *Caractacus* and *Voadicea*; for among them, women were admitted to their principalities and general commands, by the right of succession, nobility of birth, or eminence of other qualities.

Their forces consisted chiefly in their foot, and yet they could draw great numbers of horse into the field upon great occasions; they likewise used chariots in fight, which, with short scythes fastened to the ends of the axletrees, gave cruel wounds, great terror, made fierce charges upon the ranks of their enemies, and were of much force to break, or to disorder them. Their common arms were small shields, but very large swords, which expressed more desire of wounding their enemies, than defending themselves. They were esteemed a very brave and fierce people, till their bodies came to be softened, and their courages debased by the luxury, as well as servitude, which the *Romans* introduced among them.

In their religion and their laws, they were wholly governed by their *Druids*, as were the ancient *Gauls*, who are said to have been furnished with the chiefest and most learned of theirs, out of *Britain*, esteemed the nursery of the ancient *Druids*, so renowned in story: these were the only persons of any sort of learning in these nations, which was derived by long tradition among them, consisted in the observation of the heavens, knowledge of the stars and their courses, and thereby the presages of many events, or at least seasons wherein the vulgar is chiefly concerned. The rest was their doctrines of religion, forms of divine worship, and instructions in morality, which consisted in justice and fortitude.

fortitude. Their lives were simple and innocent; in woods, caves, and hollow trees: their food, of acorns, berries, or other mast; their drink, water: which made them respected and admired, not only for knowing more than other men, but for despising what all others valued and pursued, and by their great virtue and temperance, they were suffered patiently to reprove and correct the vices and crimes; from which themselves were free. All this together gave them such authority and veneration among the people, that they were not only the Priests, but the judges too, throughout the nation. No laws were instituted by Princes or common assemblies, without the proposal or approbation of the *Druids*: no person was punished by bonds, strokes, or death, without the judgment and sentence of the *Druids*: from a belief, that men would never submit to the loss of their liberties, or their lives, unless they believed it was inflicted upon them by a divine authority.

One custom there was among the *Britains* which seems peculiar to themselves, and not found in the stories of any other nations either civil, or barbarous, which was a society of wives among certain numbers, and by common consent. Every man married a single woman, who was always after and alone esteemed his wife: but it was usual for five or six, ten or twelve, or more, either brothers or friends, as they could agree, to have all their wives in common: encounters happened among them as they were invited by desire, or favoured by opportunity. Every woman's children were attributed to him that had married her, but all had a share in the care and defence of the whole society, since no man knew which were his own. Tho' this custom be alledged as a testimony how savage or barbarous a people the *Britains* were, yet I know not why it should appear more extravagant than the community of women in some other countries; the deflowering of virgins

virgins by the priest the first night of their marriage; the unlimited number of wives and concubines; not to mention the marriage of sisters among the ancient *Egyptians* and *Athenians*, and the borrowing and lending of wives among the *Romans*. On the other side, it may be alledged for some excuse of these our ancestors, that by such a custom they avoided the common mischiefs, of jealousy, the injuries of adultery, the confinement of single marriages, the luxury and expence of many wives or concubines, and the partiality of parents in the education of all their own children: all which are considerations that have fallen under the care of many famous lawgivers. But the best excuse was made upon this occasion by a *British* woman (in the time of *Severus*) who being grown familiar with *Julia Augusta*, and other chief Ladies of that Court, and having observed what passed there behind the curtain, was one day reproached for this custom of the *Britains*, as infamous in the women as well as barbarous in the men. She answered coldly, *We do that openly with the best of our men, which you do privately with the worst of yours*. However it be, such were the people and the customs of *Britain*, when the *Romans* first invaded their island under the ensigns of *Julius Cæsar*. This famous *Roman* leader, then governor of *Gaul*, after having subdued all that province, and the bordering parts of *Germany*, was the first we read of with any certainty, that entered *Britain* with foreign arms. His forces were composed of *Germans*, *Bata-vians*, and *Gauls*, besides the best of his old *Roman* legions: yet in two expeditions he made into this island, he rather increased the glory, than the dominion of *Rome*; and gave *Britain* the honour of being the last triumph of that mighty republic, which had before subdued and reduced into provinces so many kingdoms and commonwealths in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*.

The *Britains* with their naked troops made a brave opposition against this veteran army, in many fierce encounters with mutual losses, and various successes; till dissention entering among the several Princes, some of them jealous of *Cassivelaunus*, or his greatness, fled over to *Cæsar*, submitted to the *Romans*, and desired their protection. Others followed their example, till *Cassivelaunus*, weakened by these desertions, resolved likewise to make the best terms he could for himself and the rest; he sends to *Cæsar*, acknowledges the *Roman* state, agrees upon a certain tribute, and delivers hostages. And here began the fate of *Britain* to make way for foreign conquests by their divisions at home.

The *Romans* were pleased with the name of a new conquest, and glad to end an adventure with some honour, which they found was not further to be pursued without long time, and much danger; and having discovered, rather than subdued the southern parts only of the island, returned into *Gaul* with their whole forces, and left the *Britains* to their own customs, laws, and governments.

Cæsar being esteemed the best writer, as well as the greatest Captain of his age, or, perhaps, of any other; has, with his own pen, left us the best account, not only of this enterprize, but of this island too, till then little known to the rest of the world.

Those tales we have of what passed there before his time, of *Brute* and his *Trojans*, of many adventures and successions, are covered with the rust of time, or involved in the vanity of fables, or pretended traditions; which seem to all men obscure or uncertain, but to me forged at pleasure, by the wit or folly of their first authors, and not to be regarded.

From the first entrance of *Cæsar's* triumphant arms, we have some constant light in the story of *Britain*, though often very weak and uncertain, from the obscurity

scurity of those barbarous nations, who invaded the northern parts of the island ; and from the ignorance of those illiterate ages, that passed from the decay to the restoration of the *Greek* and *Roman* languages and learning, in the western parts of *Europe*.

As the *Roman* conquests advanced in this island during the reigns of so many Emperors, the bravest of the natives, who could not endure that subjection, retired into the mountainous and rocky parts of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where they preserved their liberty some time longer ; but fell at last, with the rest, into the common servitude. But the greatest numbers, and of the hardest bodies, as well as courage, among the *Britains*, after many brave attempts for defence of their country and liberty, and many defeats by the invincible *Romans*, still retired northward from the incroachments of the conqueror, till they were at last beaten out into the rough and savage parts, beyond the two frys, where the *Romans* afterwards built a wall. These native *Britains* were by them called *Picts*, from the custom they still retained of painting their bodies and their shields. And this I take for the most probable account of the nation so termed by the *Romans* (for among themselves they were called *Albins* ;) though much pains and invention has been employed by many authors, to make them a foreign race of people, who, from they know not what country, and at they know not what time, invaded and possessed *Caledonia*, or the northern parts of *Scotland*.

'Tis more difficult to find out the original of the *Scots*, or the time of their entrance upon those north-west regions ; but as far as can be gathered out of the dust or rubbish of such barbarous times and writings, and what remains still of known appellations and events, it seems probable, that vast numbers of a savage people, called *Scyths*, at some certain time, began and atchieved the conquest of the northern parts
both

both of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and by an easy change of the words, were called *Scots*; and from them, those two countries were called *Scotia major* and *Scotia minor*. Whether the *Scots* landed first in *Ireland* or *Scotland*, I leave disputed and undetermined among their authors: but it seems agreed, that both those countries were, for some course of time, styled *Scotiæ*, and that both the north-west parts of *Scotland*, as well as *Ireland*, were called *Ierne*. I am apt to conjecture, that when these *Scots* seated themselves in those parts of *Scotland*, they divided themselves into two races or nations, whereof those who inhabited the north-east parts, called themselves *Albin-Scots*, the name of the natives there, being then *Albins*; and the rest who possessed the north-west parts, were called *Iren-Scots*, from a river of that country, which gave it the name of *Ierne*; and this name was communicated to all the rest of that race, who conquered and possessed the north of *Ireland*, which from them was styled by the *Saxons* *Iren-land*, and by abbreviation, *Ireland*. And the original name seems to have belonged rather to those parts of *Scotland* than *Ireland*, since it is given us by the ancientest *Latin* verse that mentions it, with the epithet of *glacialis Ierne*, which agrees little with the climate of *Ireland*.

That these fierce invaders were *Scythians* or *Scyths* (which was their vulgar termination) is probably conjectured if not ascertained, not only from their name, but from the seat of that continent, which is nearest to the north of *Scotland*: this is *Norway*, and is the utmost western province of that vast northern region, which extends from thence to the farthest bounds of *Tartary* upon the eastern ocean, and was by the ancients comprehended in that general appellation of *Scythia*, as well as divided into several other barbarous names and countries. Besides, it is both usual and rational, that such great transigrations of people should be

be made from a worse to a better climate or soil, rather than to a worse, which makes this probable, to have proceeded from *Norway*, than from the lower and more fertile parts of *Germany*; and the island which is the nearest part of land to that continent of *Norway*, retains still the name of *Schetland*, as the first point which is reported to have been touched by the *Scots*, or *Scyths*, in this navigation.

Another argument may be drawn from several customs still remaining among the old northern *Irish*, which are recorded to have been anciently among some of the *Scythian* nations, removing their houses or creates from one place to another according to the season: burning of their corn, instead of beating or treading in other countries: eating blood they drew from living cattle: feeding generally upon milk, and using little other husbandry, besides the pasture and breed of cattle. To this is added, that the mantle or plad, seems to have been the garment in use among the western *Scythians*, as they continue still among the northern *Irish*, and the Highland *Scots*.

For their language, it must be confessed, there is not left the least trace by which we may seek out the original of this nation; for it is neither known, nor recorded to have been used any where else in the world, besides *Ireland*, the Highlands of *Scotland*, and the isle of *Man*, and must be allowed to be an original language, without any affinity to the old *British*, or any other upon the continent, and, perhaps, with less mixture than any other of those original languages yet remaining in any parts of *Europe*. The conjecture raised of its having come from *Spain*, because some *Spanish* words are observed in it, appears too light to be regarded, when those very words are of the modern *Spanish*, which is a language not above seven or eight hundred years old, and compounded chiefly out of old *Roman* and *Gothic*, with a later intrusion of the
Saracen

Saracen among them : and yet I know no better ground than this, for the other tradition of *Ireland* having been anciently planted from *Spain*, and esteem the few *Spanish* words to have been introduced only by traffic of the south-west parts of *Ireland* to *Spain*.

It seems probable, that from what part soever of the continent this nation sailed upon this adventure, they were driven away by the force or fear of some other invaders, and in so great numbers, that the natives remaining, neither preserved any where their name or language, but were either destroyed by the conquerors, or blended into the mass of the new nations, who seated themselves in their country, as we find the old *British* to have been in *England*, by the conquests and inundations of the *Saxons*.

The time of this expedition is yet less in view ; nor does *Buchanan*, or any other author, that I know of pretend to tell, or so much as conjecture farther, than upon a supposition of the *Scots* coming first out of *Ireland*, without alledging any authority for that neither. I know no way of making any guesses at a matter so obscure, without recourse to the Runic learning and stories, by which we find, that the *Asiatic Scythians*, under the names of *Getes* or *Goths*, and the conduct of *Odin* their Captain (their lawgiver at first, and afterwards one of their gods) are esteemed to have begun their expedition into the north-west parts of *Europe*, about the time that the *Roman* arms began first to make a great noise, and give great fears in *Asia*, which was in the reigns of *Antiochus* first, and then of *Mithridates*. How long the arms of *Odin* and his successors were employed in the conquest and settlement of that vast kingdom, which contained all the tracts of country surrounding the *Baltic* sea, is not agreed upon in these Runic stories, but it is necessary, *Norway* must have been the last they possessed in their western progress ; and I am apt to think, the *Scyths* may have been

been driven by them to seek nearer seats in our islands, and that it is probable to have been some time of the first century. Whenever it was, it seems more agreed, that after the first entrance of the *Scots* into *Caledonia*, they subdued much of the country, mingled with the rest of the native *Picts*, continued long to infest the frontier parts of the *Roman* colonies in *Britain*, with great fierceness, and many various events; and would possibly have made much greater noise and impressions upon the *Romans*, if their greater numbers had not been drawn another way, by so great a drain as that of *Ireland*; which they totally conquered, and long possessed.

This is the best account I have been ever able to give myself of these ancient times and events in the northern parts of our islands, being a matter that has employed so many unskilful pens in so much idle trash, and worthless stuff, as they have left upon it; but all involved in such groundless traditions and vanity of fables, so obscured by the length of time, and darkness of unlearned ages, or covered over with such gross forgeries, made at pleasure by their first inventors, that I know few ancient authors upon this subject, worth the pains of perusal, and of dividing or refining so little gold out of so much coarse ore, or from so much dross. And I have the rather made this excursion, because I have met with nothing in story more obscure, and often observed with wonder, that we should know less of *Ireland*, than of any other country in *Europe*: for, besides its having been anciently planted by the *Scots*, and taken their name, and then, after several centuries, been subdued, and much of it planted by the *Danes*; we know nothing certain of the affairs or revolutions of that island, till the *English* began their conquests there, under the ensigns of *Henry* the Second. For the *Danish* establishments there, we neither know the time nor the manner they either began

gan or ended; though many monuments still remain of the towns and castles they built, and many records among some families in *Denmark*, of the lands and possessions they long held and enjoyed in *Ireland*.

I shall now return to that part of our island, which was more properly by the *Romans* termed *Britannia*, was conquered by the victorious arms, and reduced into a province by the wise institutions of that renowned nation; and having once found the end of the thread, it will be easy to wind off the bottom; and being a subject treated by so many authors, and pretty well agreed, I shall trouble myself no farther, than to continue the thread as it leads through the several revolutions that have happened in this noble island, till the last *Norman* period, by which the present succession and governments seem to have been established, and have ever since continued.

The *Roman* arms entered *Britain* under the first and most renowned of their Emperors, which was *Julius Cæsar*: but it was not a quarry worth such an eagle, and so left by him to be pursued by the Lieutenants of the succeeding Emperors.

The second expedition into *Britain* was made by *Claudius*, under the conduct of *Plautius*, and pursued under *Ostorius*, and other *Roman* commanders, with great successes. The southern coasts, with most of the inland parts thereunto adjacent, were wholly subdued and secured by fortifying camps, building castles, and planting many colonies. The rest seemed at a gaze, and to promise submissions at the first, rather than any disturbances, to the progress of the *Roman* arms. 'Till provoked by the oppression of some of the Prætors, and their corrupt officers, the *Britains* towards the north, made head under *Caractacus*, and continued for nine years, not only a brave defence, but threatened some fatal dangers to the *Roman* colonies, till, in a decisive battle, by the advantage of armed and disciplined

plined veteran soldiers, against loose troops of naked men, the *Britains* were totally vanquished, *Garactacus* taken prisoner, and sent to make a part of a famous *British* triumph at *Rome*. Yet one strong endeavour more was made for their liberty, in the time of *Nero*; when *Paulinus* going with the best part of his army to subdue the isle of *Anglesey*, the *Britains* presuming upon so great a distance between the governor and his colonies, made a general insurrection under *Voadicea*, fell upon the *Romans* in all places, took their castles, destroyed the chief seats of their power at *London* and *Verulam*, and pursued their advantages with such slaughter and revenge, that above seventy thousand *Romans*, or their auxiliaries, were killed by the fury of this general revolt: yet *Paulinus* returning with his army, encountered the *British* forces in a set battle. overthrew their whole powers, pursued his victory with the slaughter of eighty thousand; forceth *Voadicea* to poison herself in despair: and here ended, not only the *British* liberties, but their very hopes too, or any considerable attempts ever to recover them.

Under *Vespasian* and *Domitian*, *Julius Agricola* first discovered it to be an island, sailing round it with his fleets, and extended and pacified the bounds of his province to the neck of land between the two fryths about *Sterling* and *Glasgow*; and returning, applied himself to the arts of peace and civil institutions, brought in the use of the *Roman* laws and customs, habits and arms, language and manners, baths and feasts, studies and learning: by all which he pretended to soften the minds, and change the very natures of a barbarous people, very difficult to be subdued by other means, how violent soever. This wise council, pursued by his successors in the government, succeeded so well, that the *Romans* had little trouble afterwards in *Britain*, besides the defence of their province upon the northern borders.

After these establishments, the *Romans* called all that part of the island lying northward from the two fryths, *Caledonia*; leaving the name of *Britannia* to the rest which was reduced to their obedience, and from that time remained a *Roman* province. To defend it from the irruptions of these fierce and numerous people on the north side, *Agricola* began, and in some manner finished, a wall or vallum, upon that narrow space of land that lies between the two fryths or bays of the eastern and western seas, upon which *Glasgow* and *Sterling* are seated. He fortified this pass between the two points, with towers and ramparts, to make it defensible against those barbarous nations who inhabited the northern side of that country, which the *Romans* esteemed not worth the conquering, and provided only for security of the rest of the island. Many ruins of this vallum were lately, and for ought I know, may be still remaining; and among the rest, a small round tower built of stone, but so exactly cut, as every one to joint into another, with admirable art and firmness though without any use of mortar or iron. And this was esteemed to have been a temple of *Terminus*, and built there as the utmost bounds of the *Roman* province. This wall was afterwards repaired and stronger fortified by *Adrian* and *Severus*: nor is it indeed agreed by authors which of them began or finished it, and whether the last made not another vallum between the two seas more southward, and of a much greater length: but, I think, the first more probable. However, this was a defence intended and achieved by the *Romans*, against those bold and brave remainders of the northern *Britains*, assisted by the *Scots*, who yet frequently invaded and infested the province, during the time the *Romans* held this island, which was till the reign of *Honorius*, and for the space of about four hundred and sixty years.

Upon

Upon the divisions in the *Roman* empire, which was grown a prey to their armies, and commonly disposed by their inconstant humours, the pretenders often fought their battles, and decided their quarrels in *Gal-
lia*, as well several of the commanders there who arrived at the empire, as several others who fell in the pursuit of that fatal purple, and left only the name of tyrants behind them in the stories of that age. For the assistance of these factions, the *British* legions were at several times and occasions drawn away into *Gaul*, and with them great numbers of the bravest of the *British* youth, who were affectionate to the *Roman* government, and instructed in their language, manners and discipline of their arms. As the *Roman* forces decreased in *Britain*, the *Picts* and *Scots* still the more boldly infested the northern parts, crossing the fryths, and hovering about the coasts in little boats of wicker, covered with leather, filled all where they came with spoil and slaughter, till repelled by what remained of the *Roman* forces, they retired still into their northern nest, watching for the next occasion of invasion, and revenge upon the neighbouring *Britains*, whenever the *Romans* were drawn away into remoter parts of the island. These enterprizes were often repeated, and as often repressed, for some time, till, in the reign of the second *Valentinian*, upon the mighty inundations of those barbarous northern nations, which under the names of *Goths* and *Vandals*, invaded the *Roman* empire with infinite numbers, fury, and danger to *Rome* itself, all the *Roman* legions were at last drawn out of *Britain*, with most of the *Britains* that were fit for military service, to relieve the Emperor, who was pursued by the *Goths* into *Piedmont*, and there besieged in a strong passage or town he pretended to defend.

The *Romans* taking their last leave of this province here, left the *Britains* to their own government, and
choice

choice of their own Kings and leaders, with the best instructions for the exercise of their arms and discipline, and the repairs and defence of the wall, or rampart, they had raised against their northern foes. But these, finding the whole country deserted by the *Roman* bands, exhausted of their own bravest youth, and weakened by their new divisions, began to pour in greater numbers than ever into the northern parts, and ravaged all before them, with greater rage and fury. The poor *Britains* sent over their miserable epistle for relief (still upon record) to the renowned *Ætius*, who had by several famous successes, for a time, repelled the violence of the *Gothic* arms; which was addressed in these words; *To Ætius thrice Consul; The groans of the Britains;* and told him, after other lamentable complaints, *That the barbarous people drove them to the sea, and the sea back to the barbarous people; between which they had only left the choice of those two deaths, either to be killed by the one, or drowned by the other.* But having no hopes given them by the *Roman* General, of any succours from that side, they began to consider what other nation they might call over to their relief.

The *Saxons* were one branch of those *Gothic* nations, which swarming from the northern hive, had, under the conduct of *Odin*, possessed themselves anciently of all those mighty tracts of land that surround the *Baltic* sea. A branch of these, under the name of *Suevi* (from whom the *Baltic* was of old called *Mare Suevicum*) had some time before *Cæsar's* wars in *Gaul*, invaded and subdued very large extended territories in *Germany*, from the coast of the north-west ocean to the south-eastern parts, whereof *Suabia* still retains the memory and the name. These *Suevi*, or *Suabi*, were, for their strength and valour, grown so formidable to all the *German* nations they had conquered, and forced to seek new seats, that those upon the *Rhine* sending Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, told him, *They would neither seek war*

war with the Romans, nor avoid it; that they esteemed themselves as valiant as any other nation, excepting only the Suevi, for whom the very immortal gods were not a match. These Suevi became afterwards divided into two several nations, and by limits agreed between them. Those towards the south-east of Germany were called *Franks*, from their great love of liberty, and their valour in preserving it, and never submitting to the Roman subjection, as many other German nations had done: these, upon the fatal decline of that empire, invaded Gaul, under the leading of *Pharamond*; and under the succeeding Kings of his race, conquered the whole province, and established that noble and ancient kingdom of *France*.

The other branch of the Suevi possessed themselves of all those tracts of land in Germany that lie between the *Elbe* and the lower *Rhine*, had extended their seats all over the coasts of the north-west sea, and from thence exercised their arms and fierce courages, in all sorts of spoils and piracies, not only upon merchants, or traders at sea, but upon the maritime coasts of *Britain*, opposite to those countries about the mouth of the *Rhine*, or thereunto adjacent. These fierce people were called *Saxons* from a weapon generally used among them, and made like a scythe, with the edge reversed, which in their language were termed *Seaxes*.

To these *Vortigern*, chosen King by the deserted and afflicted *Britains*, made address for aid against the *Picts* and *Scots*, who had now made inroads as far as *Trent*. Their desires of relief, and offers of seats in *Britain*, were soon accepted and granted by the *Saxons*; who, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, of the race of *Odin*, came over with great numbers to the assistance of the *Britains*, in the year 450. They joined with the natives at first, as friends and allies, had the isle of *Thanet* assigned them at their landing; and upon occasion of greater numbers, the county of *Kent* for their colony

colony and habitation. They marched against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in conjunction with the *British* arms, overthrew their forces in several battles, or encounters, with those cruel ravagers, and beat them back into the most northern parts of the province. After this, by consent of the *Britains*, *Hengist* and *Horsa* sent for their two sons, or near kinsmen, to come over with a new army of *Saxons*, by sea, into those northern parts; who seated their colony about *Northumberland*, upon pretence of guarding that frontier against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and their incursions upon the *Britains*, which they did with great bravery and successes; and thereby left those nations contented, or forced, to bound their territories with those rough and mountainous countries that lie between the two seas, near the river *Tweed*, and which ever since continued as the borders between the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, into which the island came afterwards to be divided.

The Province now delivered, and secured from their ancient foes, dissensions began to arise between the *Britains* and their new allies: the *Saxons* valued too high the assistance they had given, and the *Britains*, perhaps, too low what they had received; till the first, allured by so fair a prey, and the fertile soil of so sweet a country, inviting still greater numbers from the continent, established two *Saxon* kingdoms, one in the southern, and the other in the northern parts; and from both these sides invaded the *Britains*, who, for some time, defended themselves and their liberties, with various successes, and with the greater hatred and distinction, the *Saxons* being all Pagans, and the *British* generally Christians; which religion seems to have been planted here in the first century, but to have taken root, and spread, chiefly, under *Constantius*, who was long Governor of the *Roman* province here, a great

great favourer of Christianity, and father of *Constantine the Great*.

In the time of these first wars between the *Saxons* and *Britains*, *Ambrosius* reigned over the last; and either as General of his armies, or his successor in the kingdom, *Arthur*, so famous in the traditions, or rather in the romances of succeeding ages, and who is said to have gained twelve battles over the *Saxons*, and to have left the *Britains* in the middle of the province, for some time secure from these fierce enemies, till peace and luxury had again softened them; and by new dissensions among themselves, exposed their whole province to become an easy prey to so fierce and numerous invaders. The time of King *Arthur's* reign, or achievements (if any such there were) must have been between the years 460 and 500. But this whole story is left so uncertain, or obscure, by those poor writers, who have pretended to leave the tales, rather than the history of those times behind them, that it remains in doubt, whether to consider them as a part of the story of that or the fables of succeeding ages. Whatever there was of plain stuff, the embroidery of it, with the knights of the round table, their orders and their chivalry, and the rest of that kind, seems to have been introduced by that vein of the *Spanish* romances, which many ages after filled the world with so much of that idle trash; and chose for the subject of them, the adventures and successes of the first Christian, pretended, heroes, who renowned such fictitious names, by extravagant actions, or adventures, against the *Pagans*, or the *Saracens*, either in *Spain* or other parts of *Europe* and *Asia*. And among these, it is probable, those writers found room for the many legends of the *British Arthur*, and his romantic adventures against the heathen *Saxons*.

After the year 500, for one century, or thereabouts, the *Saxon* forces were employed in subduing the mid-land

land parts of *Britain*, interjacent between their two first established colonies, or kingdoms, in the south, or *Kent*, and in the north, or about *Northumberland*; and to furnish men for such achievements, and the new plantation of so great tracts of country, after the conquest and devastation of the old, mighty numbers of the *Saxon* race came over into *Britain*, in several expeditions, and landing at several places: that which is recorded to have made sudden and easy way for their final conquests, was a treaty they entered into with the *Britains*; where, upon a parley mediated between them, three hundred of the chief of each side, agreed to meet, and conclude the treaty, in a great plain: in the midst of talk and drink, which had part in this commerce, the *Saxons* provoking maliciously, and the *Britains* innocently resenting, fell to quarrel, first in words, and at last to blows: when the *Saxons*, upon a sign agreed between them, drew out short swords they had concealed under their upper garments, fell upon the unarmed *Britains*, slew their whole number in the field; who being the best and bravest of their nation, left the rest exposed, without heart or head, to the fury and progress of the *Saxon* arms. These heartened with success, and proud of so great possessions and territories, invited and allured still greater numbers of their own from abroad; who being of several branches, and from several coasts, arrived here under several names; among whom the *Angles* from *Schonen* and *Futland*, swarmed over in such numbers, that they gave a new name at length, to this province, which from them was called *Angle-land*, and for easier sound *England*.

The *Saxons* pursued their invasion with courage and fierceness, equal to the multitudes of their nation, that swarmed over into this island, and with such an uninterrupted course of fortune and victories, after the year 500, that by the end of the next century, they had

had subdued the whole body of the province, and established in it seven several kingdoms, which were by the writers of those times, styled the heptarchy of the *Saxons*. They had expelled the *Britains* out of the fairest and best of their ancient possessions, and driven their greatest numbers, who escaped the conquerors fury, into *Wales* and *Cornwall*, countries mountainous and barren, encompassed on three sides by the sea, and towards the land of difficult access. Some great colonies of them wholly abandoned their native country to their fierce invaders, sailed over into the north-west parts of *France*, where possessing new seats, they gave a new appellation to that *Peninsula*, which preserves still the name and memory of *Britain* there, though, about this time, almost worn out at home.

This is the account commonly given of the *British* colonies first establishing themselves in that canton of *Gaul*: but there is another given by some learned persons of their own, and drawn, as they say, either from ancient archives, or traditions among them, and which to me seems the most probable. When upon the *Roman* wars in *Gaul*, among several pretenders to the empire, great numbers of the *Britains*, as well as *Roman* forces in that island, were drawn over to assist the contending parties: 'tis said, that very great multitudes of the *British* having followed the unfortunate side, retired as fast as they could to that part of the sea-coast nearest to their isle, and most likely to furnish them with ships for their transportation; but that the miseries of their native country, from the furious inroads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, so discouraged their return, that by consent of the *Gauls* their friends, they established themselves in the farthest north-west parts of that province, which has since that time retained their language and their name. And this agrees with the legend of King *Arthur*, who is said to have been a young Prince, or leader, sent from the *Britains* in

VOL. IV. U u u France,

France, to assist their countrymen here against the *Saxons*. Whatever the beginnings of this colony were, or at what time, it is, at least, agreed to have been much augmented by the resort of so many *Britains*, as sought refuge there from the *Saxon* cruelty.

The weak and poor remainders of the old *Britains*, who were scattered among the *Saxons* in *England*, were wholly spoiled of their lands and goods, which were fallen under the mercy of the conquerors, who sharing them all among themselves, left the remaining *Britains*, in a condition of downright servitude, used them for tilling ground, feeding cattle, and other servile works, in house or field; sometimes farming out certain parts of land to them, at certain rents or profits, but held always at the will and pleasure of the landlord. The children that were born of these miserable people, belonged to the lord of the soil, like the rest of the stock or cattle upon it, and thus began villenage in *England*, which lasted till the time or end of *Henry* the Seventh's reign.

Soon after the year 600, the *Saxons* in *England* having ended their old quarrel with the *Britains*, began new ones among themselves; and, according to the usual circle of human affairs, war ended in peace, peace in plenty and luxury, these in pride, and pride in contention, till the circle ended in new wars. The *Saxon* Princes, of the seven kingdoms they had erected in *Britain*, fell into emulations of one another's greatness, disputes about the bounds of their several principalities, or about successions or usurpations, pretended or exercised in one or other of them: these were followed by formal wars among them, the stronger swallowing up the weaker, and these having recourse to their neighbours, for defence against encroaching power. Many fierce encounters, sieges, battles, spoils, and devastations of country, succeeded in the progress and decision of these mutual injuries and invasions,
between

between the *Saxon* Kings, for above two hundred years: but the account of them is very poorly given us, with little order or agreement of times or actions, by the few and mean authors of those barbarous and illiterate ages; and, perhaps, the rough course of those lawless times and actions, would have been too ignoble a subject for a good historian.

About the year 830, after many various events and revolutions between the several races of the heptarchy, *Ecbert*, descended from the *West Saxon* Kings, having inherited most of the successions from the prowess and exploits of his ancestors, and acquired others by his own, became the first sole King or Monarch of *England*, as it now was distinguished from the principality of *Wales*, possessed by the old *Britains*, and from that part of the island to the north of *Tweed*, possessed by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and by the *Saxons* styled by one common name of *Scotland*.

This famous adventure of the *Saxons* in *England*, was atchieved by the force and confluence of such multitudes from the coasts of *Germany*, which lie between the *Belgic* and *Baltic* shores, that some parts of their native countries were left almost dispeopled, to fill again by new swarms from the great northern hive; and the number of *Saxons* and *Angles*, *Jutes*, and other nations that came over, were not only sufficient to conquer and waste this whole province, but even to plant and people it soon again, with numerous and new inhabitants. So as by them succeeded in this island, not only a change of government, as by the *Roman* arms; but a change of the very people or nation, that inhabited or possessed the lands of this whole province: this induced a change likewise of names, of language, of customs, of laws, of arms, of discipline, of possessions, of titles, of religion, and even of the whole face of nature, through this whole kingdom. So as we may justly date the original of all these amongst

mongst us, as well as our nation itself, from these our *Saxon* ancestors : *Britain*, which was before a *Roman* province, was now grown a *Saxon* kingdom : and instead of its former name, was called *England* ; the language, which was either *Latin* or *British*, was now grown wholly *Saxon* or *English* ; the land that was before divided into *Roman* colonies or governments, was so now into shires, with names given to them by the *Saxons*, as they first possessed, or afterwards thought fit to distinguish them.

The habits in peace, and arms in war, the titles of officers in both, as well as of great Counsellors to their Kings, or great proprietors of lands, came to be all according to the *Saxon* forms and usage. The laws of this country, which before were *Roman*, changed now into old *Saxon* customs or constitutions. Their Princes or leaders of their several nations, became *Konings* or Kings of the territories they had subdued. They reserved part of the lands to themselves for their revenue, and shared the rest among their chief commanders, by great divisions, and among their soldiers by smaller shares. The first, who had the great divisions, were called Earls or Barons ; those of the smaller were Knights ; and the smallest of all were Freemen, who possessed some proportions of free lands, and were thereby distinguished from the Villens, that held nothing but at the will of the land-lord.

In this universal transformation, religion itself had a share, like all the rest, and received new forms and orders, with the new inhabitants, whilst all that was *Roman* or *British*, expired together in this country : the *Britains* began early to receive the Christian faith, and, as is reported, from some of the disciples themselves : and this was so propagated among them, that when the *Romans* left the province, they were generally Christians, and had their Priests and Bishops from that ancient and apostolic institution. The *Saxons* were a
fort

fort of idolatrous Pagans, that worshipped several gods peculiar to themselves, among whom *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Frea* were the chief, which left their memories still preserved by the common names of three days in the week: this religious worship they introduced with them and continued long in *England*, till they subdued the *Britains*, reduced it under their heptarchy of *Saxon* Kings, persecuted the *British* Christians, and drove them with their religion, into *Wales*, where they continued under their primitive Priests and Bishops, who, with their Monks, were all under the superintendence of one Arch-priest or Bishop of *Carleon*, the bound of the *British* principality. About the year 600, Pope *Gregory* sent *Austin* the Monk to preach the Gospel in *England* to the heathen *Saxons*, who landing at *Dover*, was received with humanity by *Ethelbert*, King of the *South Saxons*; and being admitted, with four or five of his companions, as well-meaning men, to teach and explain the doctrine and mysteries of Christianity, among these ignorant and barbarous people, they so well succeeded, that they converted at first, great numbers of the common sort, and at length the King himself, whose example gave easy way for introducing the Christian faith into his whole kingdom, which from thence spread into all the countries subject to the *Saxon* heptarchy. Thus religion came to be established in *England*, under the rites and forms, and authority of the *Roman* church; by which *Austin* was instituted chief Bishop in *England*, and seated by the *Saxon* King at *Canterbury*. But his jurisdiction, though admitted in all the *Saxon* territories, was not received by the *British* priests or people in *Wales*, though endeavoured by many missions from *Austin* and his successors, and even by wars and persecutions of the *Saxons*, upon the old *British* Christians, at the instigation of the new *Romish* priests, in one of which, near *Carleon* twelve hundred of the poor *British* monks are said to have

have been slaughtered, while they were apart in the field at their prayers for the success of the *British* army.

With this account of a new face and state of persons and of things, both natural, civil, and religious, established in *England*, I return to the period I left, of the *Saxon* heptarchy, which being extinguished by long and various revolutions among themselves, made way for the reign of *Ecbert*, the first sole King or Monarch of *England*, about the year 830.

It might have been reasonably expected, that a wise and fortunate Prince, at the head of so great a dominion, and so brave and numerous a people, as the *English*, after the expulsion of the *Picts* and *Scots* out of his country into the rough northern parts, and of the *Britains* into the north-west corners of the island, should not only have enjoyed the fruits of peace and quiet, but left much felicity, as well as greatness, to many succeeding generations, both of Prince and people. Yet such is the instability of human affairs, and the weakness of their best conjectures, that *Ecbert* was hardly warm in his united throne, when both he and his subjects began to be alarmed and perplexed at the approach of new and unknown enemies, and this island exposed to new invasions.

About this time, a mighty swarm of the old northern hive, who had possessed the seats about the *Baltic* (almost deserted by such numbers of *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Saxons*, as had issued out of them some centuries before) began, under the names of *Danes* and *Normans*, to infest at first the sea, and at length the lands of the *Belgic*, *Gallic*, and *British* shores, filling all where they came with slaughters, spoils, and devastations. The *Normans* first over-run the *Belgic* provinces upon the mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave new names of *Holland* and *Zealand* to those parts adjacent to the sea:
afterwards

afterwards they sailed with mighty numbers into the mouth of the *Sein*, and with great fierceness subdued that northern part of *France*, which from them first received, and ever since retained, the name of *Normandy*, and became the State of a great *Norman* Duke, and his successors, for several generations.

In the mean time, the *Danes* began their inroads and furious invasions upon the coasts of *England*, with mighty numbers of ships, full of fierce and barbarous people, sometimes entering the *Thames*, sometimes the *Humber*, other times coasting as far as *Exeter*, landing where-ever they found the shores unguarded, filling all with ravage, slaughter, spoil, and devastations of the country; where they found any strong opposition, retiring to their ships, sailing home laden with spoil; and by such encouragements, giving life to new expeditions the next season of the year. The bravest blood of the *English* had been exhausted in their own civil wars, during the contentions of the heptarchy; since those ended, the rest were grown slothful with peace and with luxury, softened with new devotions of their priests and their monks, with penances and pilgrimages, and great numbers running into cloisters, and grown as unequal a match now for the *Danes*, as the *British* had been for the *Saxons* before. Yet this century passed not without many various successes between the two nations, many victories and many defeats on both sides, so that twelve battles are said to have been fought between them in one year. The *Danes* divided their force into several camps, removed them from one part of the country to another, as they were forced by necessity of provisions, or invited by hopes of new spoils, or the weakness and divisions of the *English*: at length, fortified posts and passages, built castles for defence of borders one against the other, which gave the beginning to those numerous forts and castles that were scattered o-

ver the whole country, and lasted so long, as to remain, many of them, to this very age. The *English* sometimes repulsed these invasions, sometimes purchased the safety of their provinces by great sums of money, which occasioned great exactions of their Kings upon the people, and that great discontents; while the *Danes* increasing still, by new supplies of numbers and force, began to mingle among the inhabitants of those parts they had subdued, made truces and treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the laws and government of the *English* Kings. *Alfred*, to prevent the danger of new invasions, began to build ships for the defence of his coasts; and *Edgar*, a Prince of great wisdom and felicity in his reign, applying all his thoughts to the increase and greatness of his naval forces, as the true strength and safety of his kingdom, raised them to that height, both of numbers and force, and disposed them with that order, for the guard of the seas round the whole island, as proved not only sufficient to secure his own coasts from any new invasions, but the seas themselves from the rovers and spoilers of those northern nations, who had so long infested them; so that all traders were glad to come under his protection: which gave a rise to that right, so claimed by the Crown of *England* to the dominion of the seas, about the year 960.

But these provisions for the safety of the kingdom, began to decline with the life of *Edgar*, and neglected in the succeeding reigns, made way for new expeditions of the *Danes*, who exacted new tribute from the Kings, and spoils from the subjects; till *Ethelred*, compounding with them for his own safety, and their peaceable living in *England*, and fortifying himself by an alliance with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, laid a design for the general massacre of the *Danes*, spread abroad and living peaceably throughout the realm, which was carried on with that secrecy and concurrence of all the
English

English, that it was executed upon one day, and the whole nation of the *Danes* massacred in *England* about the year 1002.

This cruel and perfidious massacre of so many thousands, instead of ending the long miseries of this kingdom from the violences, invasions, and intrusions of the *Danes*, made way for new and greater calamities than before: for *Swane* King of *Denmark*, exasperated by the slaughter of his nation here, and among them of his own sister, and animated by the successes of so many private expeditions; soon after landed with great forces, formed several camps of *Danes* in several parts of *England*, filled all with spoil and slaughter, forced *Ethelred* to fly for relief into *Normandy*; and though he returned again, yet being a weak and cruel Prince, and thereby ill beloved, and ill obeyed by his subjects, he never recovered strength enough to oppose the forces and numbers of the *Danes*, to whom many of the *English* Nobles, as well as commoners, had in his absence submitted.

Swane died before he could achieve this adventure; but left his son *Canute* in a course of such prosperous fortunes, and the *English* so broken or divided, that coming out of *Denmark* with new forces in two hundred ships, he reduced *Edmund* son of *Ethelred*, first to a division of the whole kingdom between them, and after his untimely death, was by the whole Nobility of the realm acknowledged and received for King of *England*. This fierce Prince cut off some of the royal line, and forced others into exile, reigned long, and left the Crown for two successions to his *Danish* race, who all swore to govern the realm by the laws which had been established, or rather digested, by *Edward* the First, and *Edgar*, out of the old *Saxon* customs and constitutions. But *Hardecnute*, last of the *Danish* Kings, dying suddenly at a feast, in the year 1042, left the race so hated, by the imposition and exaction of se-

veral tributes upon his people, that *Edward*, surnamed *The Confessor*, and grandson to *Edgar*, coming out of *Normandy*, where he had been long protected, found an easy accession to the Crown, by the general concurrence both of Nobles and people, and with great applause restored the *Saxon* race in the year 1043.

Thus expired, not only the dominion, but all attempts or invasions of the *Danes* in *England*; which though continued and often renewed, with mighty numbers, for above two hundred years, yet left no change of laws, customs, language, or religion, nor other traces of their establishments here, besides the many castles they built, and many families they left behind them, who after the accession of *Edward the Confessor* to the Crown, wholly submitting to his government, and peaceably inhabiting, came to incorporate, and make a part of the *English* nation, without any distinction.

Edward the Confessor reigned long, reduced the laws of *Edward*, *Alfred*, and *Edgar*'s reigns into more form and order, and governed by them. His wars were successful both in *Scotland* and *Wales*, though managed by his leaders, and without his presence. But being a Prince of a soft and easy nature, he gave way to the growing power and arrogance of Earl *Godwin* and his sons, who had been the chief instruments of advancing him to the throne, upon the condition of marrying Earl *Godwin*'s daughter. After he was settled in the kingdom, either upon gratitude or inclination to the people and customs of a country where he had lived long, and been well received when he was banished from his own; he invited many of his *Norman* friends into *England*, employed them in his greatest offices either of church or state, and upon some quarrels between them and the *English*, expressed too much partiality to the *Normans*: this gave *Godwin* and his son *Harold* occasion or pretence of raising and heading great

great discontents of the *English* against the *Norman* favourites, and at last insurrections against the King; who soft in his nature, devout in his temper, and now declining in his age, endeavoured rather to appease these troubles by articles than by arms, and thereby left *Harold* too powerful for a subject, and aspiring to the Crown. *Edward* had no children; and though he seemed desirous to leave the Crown to his nephew, yet distrusting his weakness to defend it against so powerful a rival, it does not appear, or is not agreed among authors, whether he made any disposition of it at his death, or no; or whether any such, at least, as was afterwards pretended.

Harold alledged, that he was appointed by *Edward the Confessor* to succeed him, was believed by some, and allowed by more, who followed his power, rather than his right, and was immediately after the King's death, elected or admitted to the Crown.

His first trouble was from his own brother, who being the elder, had obtained assistance from *Norway*, to set up a title or pretence to the kingdom, though he could have no other, but that his brother had usurped it. *Harold* having marched into the North, overthrown his brother and his army of strangers or discontents, with great slaughter, at *Stamford*, was suddenly recalled by a more dangerous and fatal storm from the South. For *William Duke of Normandy*, surnamed *The Conqueror*, was landed at *Hastings* with a mighty army of stout *Norman* soldiers, to pursue a right he pretended to the succession of the Crown after the death of *Edward*. What this was, is but obscurely proved or defended. But the pretext was, that *Edward* had by testament left him successor of the Crown; and that *Harold* while he was last in *Normandy*, had likewise assured him of his assistance to advance him to the kingdom upon the death of the King; and the Duke therefore sent to put him in mind of that engagement.

engagement. But *Harold* was in possession, and admitted neither of these claims, resolved to defend well what he had gotten ill, since the apparent right was in *Edgar Atheling*, descended from the true *Saxon* race, and from a brother of *Edward the Confessor*. To decide these disputes between the two powerful pretenders (while the just right lay unregarded for want of force to support it) a fierce and bloody battle was fought near *Hastings*, which continued for a whole day, with great bravery and slaughter on both sides; but ended with the death of *Harold*, most of the bravest captains, and above sixty thousand soldiers of the *English* nation, who resolved to defend a domestic usurper against a foreign invader; and by the loss of their lives made easy way for the undisputed succession of *William the Conqueror* to the Crown of *England*, about the year 1066, or, as some account, 1068.

This *Norman* Prince was natural son of *Robert* the sixth Duke of *Normandy*, by *Arlette*, a very beautiful virgin of *Falaize*, with whom he fell in love, as she stood gazing at her door, whilst he passed through that town: so that he was the issue of a sudden and strong inclination; like a noble plant, raised in a hot bed, which gave it such force and vigour, as made it prosper and grow to so great a height: nor is it unlikely, that the ancient heroes derived themselves from some gods, to cover the misfortunes or follies, the rapes or loves of some fair maidens, or else the passions of some frail wives, who loved a gallant better than a husband: and the force of such encounters might have part in the constitution of a young hero, and give a natural vigour, spirit, and lustre to the children, from the flames wherein they were conceived. 'Tis certain, this young conqueror owed his greatness to his birth, and his fortunes to his personal merit, from the strength of his temper, and vigour of his mind: for he had a body of iron, as well as a heart of steel; yet his

his intellectuals were, at least, equal to his other natural advantages; and he appears as wise in his politic institutions, as he was bold in his enterprizes, or brave and fortunate in the atchievement of his great adventures.

His father *Robert* growing old, fell into a fit of devotion, frequent enough in that age; which made him resolve upon a visit to the holy sepulchre: his Nobles used all arguments they could to dissuade him, but chiefly from the want of lawful issue, and the competition like to arise upon his death, between several great pretenders, which might prove dangerous to his country, and perhaps fatal to the *Norman State*. But he persisted in the design of his journey, and told them he had a young son, that he believed certainly to be his own, and of whose person and disposition he had great hopes, and therefore resolved to leave him his successor in the duchy; recommended him to their care and loyalty, and appointed the King of *France* to be his guardian, and the Duke of *Britain* his governor, who was one of the fairest pretenders to the succession of that duchy, after the failing of *Robert's* line: an unusual strain or testimony of the good faith and meaning of that age, where honour was so much more in request than interest, that such a Prince could trust a son of reproached birth and disputed right, to a powerful neighbour, the likeliest to invade him, and to a pretender that stood the fairest to contest his title.

The Prince was not above nine or ten years old, when Duke *Robert* caused his Nobles and chief *Norman* subjects, to swear fealty to him, and afterwards carried him to do homage to *Henry I.* King of *France*, for the duchy of *Normandy*, according to the custom of the former Dukes, since their first accords with that Crown, after their conquests and establishments in that part of *France*, which was before called *Neustrie*, and took

took the name of *Normandy* from those fierce invaders; these coming from the coasts of *Norway*, in two several expeditions, with mighty numbers of a brave, but barbarous people, had, about two hundred years before, first ravaged the coasts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, then entered the mouth of the *Sein*, subjected the country by unresisted arms; then taking the city of *Rouen*, capital of that province, upon composition, and made inroads from thence into the isle of *France*, and near *Paris* itself, with such fury and success, that the King of *France*, embroiled then at home, thought fit to tame these lions, rather than longer to oppose them, and threw them that noble and fruitful morsel of *Normandy*, to assuage their hunger; yielding it up wholly to their leader *Roul*, upon conditions of his turning Christian, and his holding that duchy from the Crown of *France*, for him and his successors.

After these ceremonies were passed of the homages received in *Normandy*, and given in *France*, the old Duke *Robert* delivered his young son himself into the hands and tutelage of the *French* King, upon the confidence of great services he had formerly done him, in disputes about the Crown; and immediately after these transactions, began his voyage into *Asia*, where he lived not long, and left his son to be the founder of his own fortunes, rather than heir of his father's; which he found exposed to all sorts of dangers from the tenderness of his age, the reproach of his birth, a suspected guardian, a disputed title, and a distracted state.

After the news of Duke *Robert's* decease, the Nobles of *Normandy* by him intrusted with the government during his son's minority, found themselves soon involved in many difficulties, by the open factions of some Nobles, who envied their greatness; and by the private practices of others, who being derived from some of the former Dukes, resolved to set up their pretences

tences to the succession, but masqued their designs at first, and herded with the common discontents, against the present administration. The Governors, faithful to the trust reposed in them by the father, and the fealty they had sworn to the son, esteemed the presence of the young Prince necessary to support their authority and his title, and thereupon prevailed with the King of *France* to send him into *Normandy*; which he did accordingly, with great honour to himself, and kindness to the young Duke, as well as satisfaction to all his loyal subjects; but to the disappointment of those, who pretended their discontents rather against the Governors, than the succession.

No Prince ever came so early into the cares and thorns of a Crown, nor felt them longer, engaged in difficulties and toils, in hardships and dangers; his life exposed to the arms of enemies, the plots of assassins; his reign embroiled by the revolts of his subjects, the invasions of his neighbours, and his whole life, though very long, spent in the necessary and dangerous defence of his own title and dominion, or in the ambitious designs of acquiring greater: yet none ever surmounted all with more constancy of mind, prudence of conduct, and felicity of fortune. By all which, he seems born to have been rather a great Prince, than a happy man.

His first contests and dangers, arose from the declared competition of the pretenders to the succession of the duchy, who, favoured by the defects of his birth, and grounding their title upon their own legitimate descent, found so many followers at home, and such assistance from some neighbouring Princes, that, agreeing together against the present possessor, though disputing among themselves upon their own rights, they raised great forces, and constrained the young Duke to appear, not only at the head of his councils,
but

but of his armies too, by that time he was full seventeen years old.

These civil wars continued long, with many various, successes, bloody encounters, defeating and recruiting of troops, surprising, sacking, besieging, relieving of towns, and wasting of countries; till at last, the Duke, by his vigilance, prudence, courage and industry, subdued totally, not only the forces, but the hearts of all his competitors and enemies at home, and forced them to quit both *Normandy* and *France*, and seek new fortunes, or at least protection, in *Italy*, under the banners and service of those northern Princes, who had first, by assisting their friends, and then pursuing their own fortunes, made themselves masters of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*. So great was the prowess and conduct of those brave *Norman* adventurers, that from *Trubans*, as the *French* called them, because they could not stay at home, but left their own country, to seek room in foreign and distant regions, they became possessors and sovereigns, in less than two hundred years, of one noble duchy in *France*, a great kingdom in the best parts of *Italy*, and a greater yet, and more renowned, in the *British* isle, and thereby exchanged the savage woods, and barren mountains of *Norway*, for three of the fruitfullest, fairest, and most pleasant countries in the western parts of *Europe*, and which had been observed, both before and since, to produce the bravest bodies and courages of any provinces among their neighbour nations.

The defeats and final overthrow of competitors at home, gave Duke *William* no long quiet; for another appeared from abroad, more dangerous than any of the former: this was *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, that was not only a Prince of great possessions, but yet more formidable, by the alliance and assistance of the King of *France*, who, jealous of the *Norman* greatness, thought it both wise and just, to prevent its farther growth,
and

and abate a neighbour's power, before it grew too high, and, perhaps, out of his reach, by the conduct, ambition, and fortune of such an aspiring Prince.

To this end, and upon small pretences (which never fail a strong invader) he encouraged, if not set on foot, the Earl of *Anjou's* pretensions to the duchy of *Normandy*, gave him first his countenance and assistance, to justify his claim, and pursue it by arms, but, by degrees, engaged in an open and declared war against the Duke: this he prosecuted with much passion and violence, employing in it not only all the forces he could raise, but his own person to command them, attended by many, the chief Nobles of his kingdom, and many great persons of his allies.

Duke *William* lost nothing of his temper or courage, upon the approaches of so great a storm, but prepared first for his defence; till flushed with success in many encounters, and trusting to the bravery and affections of his army, though much inferior to the *French*, he brought the quarrel to the decision of two fierce battles in two pitched fields: the first ended in an intire victory on the Duke's side, with the slaughter of three parts of his enemies, amounting to above thirty thousand men. This loss, however, rather enraged, than discouraged the King of *France*, who gave himself or his enemies no quiet, till he engaged the *Normans* in a second battle, with greater forces and rage on both sides, but with the same success the former had ended. In this field the King of *France* lost the flower of his army, the greatest part of his Nobles, and hardly escaped himself in person. But that little availed this unfortunate Prince, who was so sensible of the loss, and, as he thought, dishonour, received by so unequal a match, that he had not the heart to survive it long, but died of grief, and thereby gave an end to this war, and left Duke *William* a calm and peaceable reign, till he disturbed his own and his neighbour's

quiet, by new and greater adventures. But to discover their causes, and judge better of the events, we must have recourse to the accidents of the former reigns, both in *England* and *Normandy*, and the great commerce and intelligences that were thereby grown, for many years past, between these two Courts and nations.

Edward, for his piety, surnamed *The Confessor*, the last King of the *Saxon* race in *England*, had, by the persecution of his enemies under the reign of *Hardeknute* the *Dane*, been forced to leave *England*, and seek shelter in *Normandy*, where he was kindly received, nobly entertained by the Duke, lived long there with many *English*, who adhered to his right, followed his fortunes, and shared in the causes and reliefs of his banishment; some found employments, others alliances, all, favour and kind reception in *Normandy*. These mutual good offices produced so much kindness between the givers and receivers, that it is by some writers reported, King *Edward*, during his residence in the *Norman* Court, promised Duke *Robert*, that in case he recovered the kingdom of *England*, and died without issue, he would leave him the Crown. The first happening, and *Edward* restored by the power of Earl *Godwin*, or rather the general discontents of the *English* against the *Danish* race and government, it is certain, King *Edward*, after his restoration, or rather first accession to the Crown, ever appeared more favourable and partial to the *Normans*, than was well resented by his *English* subjects in general; but Earl *Godwin* and his son *Harold* were so offended, that they made it the cause or pretence of a dangerous insurrection, and were forced, upon the ill success thereof, to leave the kingdom, and fly into *Flanders*, though after restored and received by the King, rather by force than any free and willing consent.

Duke

Duke *William*, after the end of his wars with *France*, had turned his thoughts to the common arts and entertainments of peace, regulating the abuses of his state, and the disorders introduced by a long course of wars and violence, adorning his palaces and houses of pleasure, building churches and abbies, and endowing them with great bounty and piety: after which he made a journey into *England*, where he was received and entertained by King *Edward*, with the same kindness himself had found in the *Norman* Court; for which, like a good Prince, he was much pleased to make this return of gratitude, as well as justice, In this visit, it is said by some authors, that the Duke gained so far upon the esteem and kindness of the King, that he then renewed to the son in *England*, the promise he had formerly made the father in *Normandy*, of leaving him the Crown by testament, in case he died without issue.

Some time after the Duke's return, *Harold* son to Earl *Godwin*, and heir of his great possessions and dependances in *England*, was forced by a storm (as he at least pretended) upon the coasts of *Normandy* (and to refresh himself after the toils and dangers of his sea voyage, went first to the *Norman* Court, and after some stay there, to that of *France*; and was in both entertained like a person known to be of so great consideration and power in *England*. But his last visit at *Paris*, was thought designed only to cover the true intention of his first in *Normandy*; where he engaged to assist that Duke with all his friends and force, in his claim to the Crown of *England*, upon King *Edward's* death; which happening not long after, *William* claimed the Crown by virtue of a testament from that King, and of an engagement from *Harold*. But he, on the contrary, denied any such testament from the deceased Prince; alledged an appointment made by him at his death for *Harold* to succeed him; dis-

owned

owned any promise made in favour of the Duke, and making the best use of the credit and authority gained by his father and himself, in a crazy and diseased state, during the soft reign of a weak, though pious, King; *Harold* set up boldly for himself, without any respect of right, beyond the people's submission (interpreted for their consent), and was elected King by those Nobles and Commons of his friends, or indifferent persons, who assembled at his coronation; leaving to *Edgar Atheling* an undoubted, but yet unregarded right of succession; and to *William*, a disputed plea, from the alledged testament of the deceased King.

The Duke, fond of those ambitious hopes he had framed early, and nourished long, and spighted at the perfidious dealing of *Harold* towards him, and his insolence towards the *English* nation, in seizing the King and government, against all justice, or so much as pretence of right (which is commonly made use of to cover the most lawless actions) assembles his estates of *Normandy*, exposes to them his claim to *England*; the wrong done him by *Harold*; his resolutions of prosecuting both with his utmost power; the glory as well as justice of the enterprize; the hopes of success from his own right; and the hatred in *England* of the usurper, as well as the friends and intelligences he had in that kingdom; the greatness of spoils and possessions, by the conquest of his enemies; and the share he intended his friends and followers, according to each man's merit and contribution towards the advancement of his designs.

Though the generality of the *Normans* in this assembly, were not at first very much moved by these discourses, as either doubting the right or success of so hazardous an adventure; yet they could not discourage what they were unwilling to promote, since they found the Prince had it so much at heart; who prevailed with several of the greatest Bishops and Nobles of *Normandy*,

mandy, to make him a voluntary offer of what moneys, men, and ships they would each of them furnish towards this enterprize, as well as of their own personal attendance upon him, in so noble and just a design.

This free and magnanimous offer of the greatest among them, in some degree, spirited not only the rest of the assembly, but had much influence upon the people in general, who grew confident of the success, from the greatness and boldness of the undertakers, so as they fell into emulation, who should engage soonest, and contribute farthest upon this occasion.

The Duke, assisted to his expectation by his subjects, began to practise upon the hopes and ambition of his neighbours, who weary of the long quiet they had lived in at home, since the part they had taken in the *French* and *Norman* wars, begun to grow fond of some new action, and to look out for new adventures.

The Duke had gained and deserved so high esteem and general reputation, by the wise conduct of his government, both in peace and in war, by his justice and bounty, his valour and his clemency, that he was renowned not only among his subjects and his neighbours, but in the remoter regions of *Germany* and *Italy*; and found a concurrence in this design from many Princes his friends, and some who had been his greatest enemies: he was favoured and assisted with money, or with soldiers, by the Dukes of *Britain* and of *Brabant*, the Counts of *Bologne* and *Flanders*, and his ancient competitor the Earl of *Anjou*: by many Princes of *France*, the most considered in that Court; as, the Duke of *Orleans*, Earls of *Poitou* and *Maine*, excited by the honour of the enterprize, or fame of the leader, at a time when the infancy of their King gave them no hopes of action at home, and left that Crown unconcerned in what passed abroad. The Emperor sent some choice troops, and experienced commanders, to serve in this expedition; and the Pope, induced by the

the fame of this Duke's great virtues, and piety, in the whole course of his reign, which had now lasted above forty years, sent him a banner he had blessed, with several relicts; and thereby was esteemed, according to the devotion of those times, to have justified his title, and even sanctified his arms.

With all these advantages, this brave Duke began and finished his mighty preparations, by a general concurrence of his own Nobles and subjects, and a confluence of most of the bold adventurous spirits in his neighbour provinces, led by the desires of glory or of gains: the Princes trusted his faith and his promises, which he had never forfeited: the Knights and soldiers relied upon his valour and his fortune, which had never failed in the long and happy course of his reign.

What the number was of the army he brought over into *England*, is not distinctly related, or well agreed; but must be concluded to have been very great, by that of the ships wherein they were embarked, which were between eight and nine hundred: besides, they were all chosen and brave troops, excellently disciplined, commanded by gallant officers, strongly united by the love of their Prince, and encouraged by the common hatred of *Harold* his enemy, both at home and abroad: a known usurper, cruel in his nature, of *Danish* extraction, and thereby ungrateful to the *English*; a hater of his own blood, and who had never triumphed, but over his own brother; and by a bloody victory at *Stamford*, had lost the bravest of his troops, as he had done before the hearts of his subjects.

The Duke landed his army at *Hastings* in *Sussex*, about the beginning of *October*; and expecting a general submission of the *English* to his right and title (pretended from the testament of *Edward the Confessor*) or the desertion of *Harold* (as an usurper) by his own army: he made at first no shew of invading a hostile country,

country, but rather of encamping in his own : forbidding all injuries to any of the inhabitants, and all spoil of the country about him : and so continued, with his whole army, in a quiet and peaceable manner, for about a fortnight, either to refresh his troops, or to expect how his claim to the Crown, and arrival upon it, would be received in *England*.

But after this time expired, he was soon roused by the approach of *Harold*, who returned from the defeat of his brother, and his *Danish* assistants, with all the forces he had employed in that expedition, and all he could invite or collect out of the country as he passed. The first were standing troops, numerous and brave, which he kept for the defence of his person and title, knowing they were both generally hated in *England*. The last were ill-disciplined, and worse affected, and served only to increase the number of his army, which was very great.

Upon approach of his enemies, he sent spies into the *Norman* camp, who were taken and courteously used by the Duke ; carried through all his troops, shewed their discipline and disposal, and sent back with rewards. At their return they told *Harold*, that the *Normans* looked rather like an army of priests, than of soldiers, by their great silence and order in their camp, as well as by their faces being all shaved.

It is said, the Duke before the battle, sent an offer to *Harold*, to decide the quarrel between them by single combat, and thereby spare their subjects blood ; which *Harold* refused, and said, he would leave it to God to determine. Upon which, his brother desired him, that he would not be present at the battle, because he had formerly sworn to Duke *William* to assist his title upon King *Edward's* death ; and rather leave it to them, who had a juster cause ; and should fight only for defence of their country, and without breach of oath. But the courage of *Harold* was more than his conscience

conscience, and so both parties disposed their armies for a pitched battle next morning: after the *English* had passed the night in songs and feasting, and the *Normans* in much devotion.

The fight began with great fury, and equal bravery, as well as order, on both sides. The *English* were cruelly gauled by thick showers of arrows from the *Norman* long-bows, before the battle joined; which was a weapon then unused in *England*, and thereby the more surprizing, by wounds coming from enemies so far out of reach, and not suddenly to be revenged. But when they came up to close fight, the *Normans* were hewed down by the *English* bills, which, of all weapons, gives the most ghastly and deplorable wounds. Besides, their points were so strong and so close together, that no charges of the *Norman* horse could break the *English* ranks, though the Duke assailed them so often, and with so great bravery, that he had three horses killed under him in the attempt. But finding them continue firm, he at length, by a signal, caused a sudden flight to be feigned, by his *Normans* that were more advanced: upon which, the *English*, easily deceived by their own courage, as well as hopes, began such an eager pursuit, as by it they dissolved their ranks, that had been otherwise impenetrable. Upon this incident, before expected, and soon discovered by the Duke, and upon another signal given, the *Normans* returned with greater fury than before; broke into the disordered body of the *English*, routed and pursued them to a rising ground; where their broken forces made a stand, fell again into order, and, encouraged by the speeches, but more by the brave example of *Harold*, they renewed the fight, and made a mighty slaughter of the *Normans*, as they endeavoured to force them against the disadvantage of the hill which they defended.

The

The fierceness and obstinacy of this memorable battle, was often renewed by the courage of the leaders, where ever that of the soldiers began to faint; till the *Normans* leaving the assault of the hill, too obstinately defended, and keeping a little distance, fell again to their arrows, with one of which *Harold* was shot quite through the head, and fell to the ground: and by his death gave the victory and the field to the *Normans*, which had hitherto continued doubtful on both sides; and seemed thus far to have been fought with equal courage, and with equal loss. But the flight of the *English*, upon *Harold's* fall, soon determined it, and was followed by a long and bloody pursuit of the *Normans*, which lasted till night, and left mighty numbers of the *English* slain in the flight, that had been safe in the battle; and the rest of them wholly dispersed, though covered by the night: so different are the effects of courage and of fear, and so just the rewards of both; the first, which seeks dangers, often avoids them; the other, often runs into them, by endeavouring to escape them: much greater numbers falling in all battles, by the pursuit of those that fly, than by the slaughter of those that fight.

Nothing seems to shew the greatness of *England* so much at this time, as that *Harold* should be able to assemble so mighty an army to oppose this invasion; and find above threescore thousand men, brave enough not only to fight, but to lose their lives in his defence: for so many are agreed to have been slain of the *English* at this battle of *Hastings*; where he lost his Crown and his life together; and left the field, with the kingdom, to this brave *Norman* conqueror. This was the man, these the forces, and such the circumstances that contributed to so famous an enterprize; by which the fate of *England* was determined, in or about the year 1066.

The Duke, after this famous victory, resolved not to lose the fruits and advantages he had thereby gained (which is often done) for want of speed or vigour, in the prosecution, wherein celerity is sometimes of more consequence than force. Therefore, after the pursuit of his broken enemies, and a short refreshment of his own army, he began immediately his march towards *London*, where was all the strength then left in the kingdom; believing if he could be master of the head, the rest of the body would follow, without more struggle or resistance.

In his march he is said to have exercised much cruelty towards all he found in arms, with great rigour and oppression upon the other inhabitants, and spoil of the countries where he passed; till entering into a woody part of *Kent*, and advancing with his vanguard before the rest of his army, he found himself almost environed with mighty numbers of the *Kentishmen*, who had concealed themselves in the wood, by carrying every man a great bough of a tree, like a shield in his hand. But when they saw the *Norman* troops, and the Duke at the head of them, within their danger, they began on a sudden to march, like a moving wood, till approaching their enemies, they threw down their boughs, and discovered on all sides a multitude of brave armed men, ready to charge the *Normans*, that stood surprized and amazed at the strangeness of the sight, which appeared as if a wood had been, by some enchantment, transformed into an army; but the *Kentishmen* approaching, made a halt, and sent the Abbot of *St. Austin's* to tell the Duke, that all the men of that province were there assembled, to defend their country and their liberties, or to sell their lives as dear as they could; that if he would swear to preserve them in those ancient laws and customs, under which they and their ancestors had so long lived, they were all ready to lay down their arms, and become his sub-

jects;

jects; if not, he must prepare to fight with men that had resolved to lose their lives, rather than their liberties and laws. The Duke finding he was too far advanced to join the body of his army before he engaged, and unwilling to venture all his fortunes and hopes against such numerous bands as these appeared, and of so desperate men, granted to all the inhabitants of the province of *Kent*, the preservation and free enjoyment of all their ancient laws and customs under the *Saxon* reigns, swore the observance of his grant, received their homage, and so pursued his march. This is represented as a forced prelude to a subsequent voluntary act of this Prince, whereby he made or confirmed the same concession, in general, to all the rest of the kingdom. And though this adventure of the *Kentishmen* be not recorded with great evidence of truth, or agreement of circumstances, or of time (for some writers place it before his first arrival at *London*, others after, and upon an expedition to reduce the castle of *Dover*) yet it is related by so many authors, and is so generally received by vulgar tradition, that it seems not to be omitted: but when, or however it happened, or whether at all or no, is not material to the history of this Prince, or to the following actions, or institutions, of his reign.

In the city of *London*, besides the great numbers, and riches of the inhabitants, were retired most of the great Nobles of the kingdom, both ecclesiastical and secular, who had not been engaged in action of either side; and attended what would be the issue of this strong and violent convulsion of the State. Upon decision of the last battle, they all consulted together with the citizens, what was best to be advised and done for their common interest and safety, as well as of the whole kingdom; which was like to run their fate, by following their example. Many of the secular Nobles were for collecting what forces they could, and making

king a stand, either in the field, or in the town; and thereby trying their fortunes, or, at the worst, making conditions; for they could not bear that their great possessions and lands should lie at the mercy of a Prince, whose will might be as boundless as his power, and who had so great a train to be rewarded at their cost, and by the spoils, if he pleased, of the whole kingdom.

The citizens feared the hostile entrance of an incensed army, upon a weak resistance, and the sudden loss of their possessions, which consisting chiefly in moveables, might be seized in a day, and dissipated, past any recovery, by the very grace of the Prince, or succeeding composition between him and the rest of the kingdom: they thought no forces could be collected, either in time, upon so sudden an approach, or with strength enough to make opposition, in a body that had lost so much blood, and without a head to command them, or, upon any treaty, to manage their common interests to the best advantage; and so they were disposed to submit to what they esteemed the fate of the kingdom. The Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the clergy, were a sort of state apart, within the state itself, having a jurisdiction independent (as they pretended, and were usually allowed in that age) upon the secular power; they held their lands and possessions in the kingdom, by another tenure than the laity pretended, and feared not to lose them under any Prince that was a Christian, which made them more indifferent of what race, or by what title he held the Crown; and so more easy to fall in with the stream of any changes or new revolutions: besides they were possessed with the fame of this Prince's piety, and the opinion of his right having been determined by the Pope's approving and assisting it with his benediction. They thought, as well as the citizens, that this torrent was not to be resisted; that a faint and fruitless opposition

fiction would but exasperate the Duke, and make him continue, as well as begin his reign, like a conqueror; and therefore esteemed the wisest part was, to acknowledge his right, and thereby tempt or persuade him into a safer and easier form of government, both for himself and his subjects, as a just and lawful King.

The clergy was in very great authority at this time, and among all sorts of people in the kingdom, having enjoyed and exercised it here, during the whole course of the *Saxon* reigns, after those Kings became Christians in this island; nor could any other authority rise so high, and spread so far, as growing from so many roots: they were allowed to be the guides and instructors of mankind in all spiritual worship and divine service, and even the dispensers of those graces and forfeitures upon which depended the rewards or punishments of a future state; which being greater and longer than those of this life, gave them more influence upon the minds of men, than any secular jurisdiction that can extend no farther: they had mighty possessions in lands throughout the kingdom, as well as other riches, from the bounty of pious Princes, of devout and innocent people, and from many others, who thought to expiate crimes, or cover ill lives by these kinds of donation to the church. These possessions were esteemed sacred, and, as much went into this stock every age, so nothing ever went out; and all the lands in the kingdom might, in the course of ages, have held of the church, if this current had not been stopped by the statute of *Mortmain* in the time of *Edward* the First. It is recorded, that of sixty two thousand knights fees, that were reckoned in *England* during the reign of this first *Norman* King, there were in that of King *John* twenty eight thousand in the hands of the church. This gave the clergy (by the dependances

of those that held under them in so great numbers) a secular power annexed to their ecclesiastical authority: they had, besides, all the little learning which was in those ignorant ages, and passes for wisdom among those who want both; gives a faculty, at least, of discouraging, though, perhaps, not of judging better than others, and gains more attention, and easier applause from vulgar auditors. Lastly, they were united, more than any other state, upon one common bottom, and in pursuit of one common interest, which was always pretended to be the greatness of the holy church; but indeed was their own, and the honours, power, and riches of the church men, rather than of the church. By these circumstances, and the advantage of such a complicated strength, the clergy came to such an authority, that they were arbiters, if not of all affairs, at least, of all contests in the kingdom, and turned the balance which way soever they fell in; were still applied to by the weaker, and often by the unjust side; had the chief sway, and were the chiefeft instruments in all those many revolutions of state, irregular successions, and even usurpations of the Crown, that happened between the time of the conquest, and the reign of *Henry the Third*; which may easily be observed, and cannot easily be wondered at, by all who read the story of those reigns, and consider what has been said upon this subject, important enough to excuse this digression.

But to return to our conqueror, upon his march to *London*, and the consultations there how to receive him. The opinions and counsels of the Bishops and ecclesiastics easily prevailed, and seem to have had more reason, as well as authority, than the rest: so it was unanimously resolved, not only to submit to a power they could not oppose, but to acknowledge a title they would not dispute. The Duke, upon his approach to the city, was received with open gates and open

open arms, at least, without the appearance of any reluctance or discontent, any more than of resistance: he claimed the Crown at his arrival, by the testament of King *Edward the Confessor*, without any mention of conquest, which was infinitely grateful to all the Nobles and Commons of the realm; whether it was a strain of his own prudence and good natural sense, or a persuasion of those *English*, who had either assisted or invited his invasion, or apprehension of so great and brave a people, if offended by the name of conquest, and irritated by the dangers or fears of a lawless and arbitrary power, to which they had not yet their hearts or strength broken enough, easily to submit.

He was crowned King at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *York*, who with *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had been the great promoters of those councils, by which he entered upon so peaceable a beginning of his reign. At his coronation, he took the oath usual in the times both of the *Saxon* and *Danish* Kings; which was, to protect and defend the church, to observe the laws of the realm, and to govern his people justly: after which he caused fealty to be sworn to him by all the Bishops, Barons, and Nobles, with the Magistrates of the city, who had assisted or attended at his coronation, and thereupon found himself on a sudden settled in a calm and quiet possession of a Crown he had so long aspired to, and so lately won by one single, though violent blow.

This King was about two and fifty years old, upon his accession to this Crown, and is, perhaps, the only instance found in story, either before or since, in this island, or the rest of the world, that began and achieved any great and famous enterprize after that age; whether the decline of nature leaves not vigour enough for such designs or actions; or fortune, like her sex, have no kindness left for old men, how much soever she

He favoured them when they were young : but the talents of age, which are prudence and moderation, learnt best in the school of experience, and seldom joined, if consistent, with the warm passions of youth, were now as necessary to this Prince, for the conservation of his kingdom, as his long, industrious application, and bold execution, had been for acquiring it ; and how much he excelled in these qualities, will be seen by the sequel of his reign.

He considered very wisely, that though he had gained the Crown by the assistance of foreign forces, and by the decision of arms, yet these might not always be so prosperous, if too often tried, and the number or strength of his foreigners, bore no proportion to those of so brave and populous a nation, if they should unite on any bottom of common discontents, of dangers, or of fears, and that the safety and peace of his new acquired dominion, could be preserved only by the general satisfaction and security of his *English* subjects : and this was his first care, and was the best provided for by the two first actions of his reign ; one was, that as he had claimed the Crown only from the testament of King *Edward*, and wholly avoided that odious name of conquest, so he expressed, upon all occasions, his resolution to govern the kingdom as a legal Prince, and leave the ancient laws and liberties of the *English* nation, as they had before enjoyed them : the other was, that as he drew no blood, but what was spilt in the field, so he seized only the lands and estates of those who had been in arms against him, before his accession to the Crown, or after that time, by any revolt, or new oppositions.

This wise counsel made a clear and sudden distinction between those *English* that were to feel any ill effects by this late revolution, and the rest who were left out of danger, and in the same state they enjoyed under the race of their former lawful Kings, and so but little
sensible

sensible of the change : the forfeited estates and lands were, indeed, seized with great severity, but the greatest part of the proprietors were silent in the grave, having been slain in the battle of *Hastings*, and pursuit of that victory ; those who remained alive, being at once despoiled of all their possessions, were broken in their hearts, maimed in their interest among their neighbours ; and being but few throughout the kingdom, in comparison of those that were safe, their losses or complaints were little regarded by the rest, but, like wounded deer, were deserted, and even avoided, by the herd.

Upon the coronation of the King at *London*, with the concurrence of Nobles and people in that city, and his care in publishing throughout the several counties, these two resolutions concerning the safety of their properties and laws : all the inhabitants of both the adjacent and remoter counties, and of what degree soever, not only with universal consent, submitted to his government as to a decree of Heaven, but most of them began to express, or, at least, pretend, a common joy at the fate of the late usurper and the prosperous fortunes of the present King.

His next care was the satisfaction of those many and brave adventurers and soldiers, who had followed him in this expedition ; which he endeavoured to make with justice to his promise, and to their several merits, as far as the forfeited lands and revenues would reach, or any treasures or debts he found here belonging to the Crown : the lands of the *English* Barons who had opposed him, he divided among the *Norman* Barons that had attended him ; those of the Commoners among the soldiers ; what offices were vacant, he supplied with such as he had not lands or money to reward ; such of the *Normans* as he could not clear accounts with at present by any of these ways, he distributed into the rich and numerous abbies of the kingdom,

dom, to be there entertained till new employments should fall, or new forfeitures, or new supplies should come into the King's coffers, by the large revenues of the Crown, or the wise management of his treasures; which had always been a virtue of this Prince, and exercised in his lower fortunes, as far as could agree with the bounty of his nature, towards those who deserved it by their merits or their services.

The provision he made for so many poor *Normans*, by disposing them among the rich monasteries, to share in their plenty, seemed, at least, a temporary imposition upon the clergy, and a breach of those immunities they had enjoyed in the *Saxon* reign: for though one chief end of the large donations made by so many Princes and pious subjects to the church, was intended for charitable uses, by relief of the poor, and the hospitable entertainment of passengers, pilgrims, and strangers, yet this use was left voluntary, and at the choice of those who possessed these revenues: the *Normans* sent among them, were indeed strangers and poor, but yet the most charitable monks had little mind to relieve them, or, if they had, were not willing to receive them within their convents, to be not only sharers of their provisions, but observers of their actions; however, they complied at present with the desires of the King, or the necessity of the times, yet they generally took it ill of the King, and for a diminution of those immunities, or of that favour they had enjoyed under former reigns: some thought, he had an envious eye at the vast riches of the clergy; others, that he was jealous of their power, and suspected their affections to his person and government, and apprehended as easy a change among them, upon the approach of any new revolution, as they had shewed upon the last, in his own favour. That for these reasons he had dispersed his *Normans* as so many guards, or, at least, as so many spies among them: whatever it

it was, it is certain this action bred the first unkindness of the clergy towards this King, and being followed by two other strains of the same nature (which will be observed in their time) left an imposition upon his memory, of hardship, cruelty, oppression, or exaction, which he deserved as little as other Princes, that have a fairer character in story and common opinion. For the monks having been the only writers remaining of these times, as well as some succeeding reigns, have left a tincture of their passions upon the actions of the first Kings of this *Norman* race, and painted their virtues and vices in fairer or fouler colours, according to the ideas they had framed of them and their several dispositions or actions in favour or prejudice of the church; that is, of ecclesiastical persons or privileges: such an authority have the pens of learned writers, always claimed and possessed, as to pass the definitive sentence upon the memories of the greatest Princes, in the vulgar opinion of posterity. Nor is it evident, whether the invidious name of conqueror, which this King had so carefully avoided, were entailed upon him by the flattery of his friends, or the malice of his enemies; among whom, the monkish writers seem to have been the chief and most inveterate.

Whatever motions were raised upon this occasion in the minds of the clergy, none appeared in the rest of the body of the realm, or mass of the people: most were satisfied, because they either liked their new King, or hated the last usurper: some were indifferent to both, while their estates and liberties were out of danger; and such who were displeased with either, disguised their resentment, or were not taken notice of in the crowd. All conspired to make so great a calm succeed in the kingdom, as is usual after a great storm is over, that the King, having passed some months here in the cares and for the settlement of his new dominions

minions in *England*, made a journey to visit his old in *Normandy*, about the beginning of the summer, having been crowned at *Westminster* on *Christmas-day*.

Whether this was undertaken upon any necessity of his affairs on that side, or to settle them so, as not to interrupt him here, where he intended to reside, is not known; or whether he took a pleasure and a pride to shew both his subjects, and his neighbour Princes, how secure he esteemed himself in his new acquired dominions; but it looks like a strain of his usual boldness and fearless temper, and succeeded well, like the rest of his counsels and resolutions: yet was not this journey undertaken without prudence and caution, in the choice of those hands with whom he left the government in his absence, and of those persons he engaged to accompany him in the voyage. He committed the rule of the kingdom to his brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to *Fitz Aubar* his near kinsman, whom he had lately made Earl of *Hereford*. He took with him into *Normandy*, *Siigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who though a great instrument in his easy and peaceable admission to the Crown, yet had been discontented at his coronation, which had been performed by the Archbishop of *York*, upon pretence of some fault or question about the other's investiture; with him he took several other Bishops, the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, two persons of great power and dependances, with many other *English* Noblemen, of whose faith or affections he was the least confident; and besides these, he took with him a greater and much more considerable hostage for the quiet of *England*, though under colour of honouring him, or being honoured by his company; this was *Edgar*, surnamed *Atheling*, nephew to *Edward the Confessor*, and designed by him for successor, as was divulged among those of his subjects, that neither favoured the right or pretensions of *Harold*, or the *Norman* Duke. He had many disadvantages to
balance

balance and weigh down his right which was undisputed; as, his foreign birth and breeding, which was in *Hungary*, during his father's exile under the reign of *Hardecnute*; the persecution and hatred of his grandmother *Emma*, a woman celebrated in her time, for the suspicion and clearing of her chastity by the *Saxon* trial of fire ordeal; but who having married *Hardecnute*, after the death of her first husband, had ever after more inclination to the *Danish* than the *Saxon* race: besides, *Edgar*, though of so good and virtuous dispositions, as made him be stiled *England's* darling; yet they were such as seemed to become an excellent private person, rather than a Prince, or, at least, to have adorned an easy and peaceful possession of a Crown, rather than to force his way to a legal right, through the difficulties and opposition of two powerful pretenders. However, an undisputed right (which, they say, never dies) had left him so many friends in the kingdom, that the King thought it not safe to leave him behind, upon his going into *Normandy*, nor wise to tempt either him or his new *English* subjects with such an opportunity of raising any commotions upon so fair a pretence.

Besides these cautions, he took with him most of his *French* adventurers into *Normandy*, finding they were not very agreeable here, either to the *English*, or to the *Normans*, and pretending he was not able to clear his accounts with all that assisted him, out of the revenues or forfeitures here, and that he would find out ways of satisfying them either in *Normandy*, or by his credit and recommendations to other Princes, where his own bounty or abilities could not reach.

During his stay in *Normandy*, which was no less than the whole summer, his new government in *England* continued quiet and peaceable; though one *Erick*, called *The Forester*, endeavoured to disturb it, by calling in some loose forces of the *Welsh*, his neighbours, into

Herefordshire;

Herefordshire; but he was soon suppressed, and they easily forced back into their own mountains, by the vigilance of the Governors, and the vigour of those forces he had left here, disposed with such order, into the several counties as to give way or time to no growing dangers, that should arise in any one corner, or from any single discontent, while the general humour of the people was calm, and either satisfied with the change, or at a gaze how this new world was like to end. So that the King, after having settled his affairs in *Normandy* to his mind, returned before winter, to enjoy the fruits of so many dangers and toils, as his life had been engaged in, resolving to spend the remainder of it in *England*, as the nobler scene and greater dominion, and to cultivate with care, an acquisition he had gained himself with much hazard and pains, and with greater glory.

The King at his return into *England*, finding his new dominion had continued calm and peaceable under the authority of his brother and council, had reason to believe it would easily be preserved so, under his own. For, as the absence of an ill Prince seldom fails of raising disquiets and commotions among the people, in a government which is obeyed only from fear; so nothing contributes more to the satisfaction and obedience of subjects, than the presence of a good King; and this is the reason why all distant provinces, governed by commissions or subordinate authorities, are so subject to frequent seditions and revolts, how lawfully soever they are inherited, or how well soever they are established after any new conquest or acquisition; the force and influence of authority growing still weaker by the change of hands and distance of place: this disposed the new King to the resolution he took at this time, of making *England* the seat of his person, as well as empire, and governing *Normandy* by his Lieutenants; thereby forcing the common affections of birth,
or

or education and custom, to yield and comply with reasons of state, and preferring a foreign to his natural soil, though, perhaps, seated in a better climate, and at that time more adorned and civilized by the commerce of *France*, and other countries upon the continent.

With this resolution, and in this security, he applied himself at his return to the arts of peace, and the orders of his state, wherein he as well excelled, as in those of war, and was framed, not only for a great Prince, but for a good; to which he was inclined by the bounty and clemency of his natural dispositions, by the strength and soundness of his judgment, and by the experience of his age: his first care was to provide for the due administration and execution of laws and justice throughout his realm; and the next was, to introduce order into the common course of his revenue, and manage it with so great proportion of his expence to his receipts, as might neither leave the Crown in necessities, nor the subjects in fears of new or lawless exactions and oppressions; justice being the very foundation of government, as treasure is said to be the sinew of war.

For the first; as he had sworn at his coronation to govern by the laws of the realm; so he continued the ancient customs and liberties of the people, that were called the common law of the kingdom, which he caused to be in substance observed, both in what concerned the Crown and the subject, tho' he introduced several new forms in the administration or execution of them: besides the ancient laws or customs that concerned the descent of private inheritances, or the penalties upon several crimes, there were two fundamental laws of the *Saxon* or *English* kingdom; the trial by juries of twelve men, wherein consisted the chief safety of mens properties and lives; and the borough law, which was the greatest security that had been invented by

by the wisdom of our *Saxon* ancestors, for the peace and order of the realm. The first, I know, is by some authors mentioned as having been introduced by this *Norman* King out of the laws of that country: but I think it evident to have been an institution very antient among the *Saxons*, and to have been derived and observed during the whole succession of the *English* Kings, and even in the *Danish* reigns, without any interruption. Nor does there want some traces or appearances of it, from the very first institutions of *Odin* the first great leader of the *Asiatic Goths* or *Getae* into *Europe*, and the founder of that mighty kingdom round the *Baltic* sea, from whence all the *Gothic* governments in these north-west parts of the world, were derived by the spreading conquests of those northern races.

It is recorded, that upon the beginning of his expedition, he ordained a council of twelve men, who should judge and decide all matters that came in question: and there being then no other laws established among those vast numbers of rough people, going to seek out new conquests, and thereby seats to inhabit; it is probable, these twelve men judged all cases upon evidence or matter of fact, and then gave their sentence, and appointed penalties according to what they esteemed most agreeable to justice and equity, so as the twelve men were at first both jurors and judges: their judgments in causes both real and criminal, being generally approved as just and equitable, grew into precedent to succeeding judges, and being received by general submission, introduced the custom of certain sentences being pronounced in certain causes, and certain punishments being usually inflicted upon certain crimes. In process of time, and multiplicity of business, the matter of fact continued to be tried by twelve men; but the adjudgement of the punishment, and the sentence thereupon, came to be given by one or

two

two, or more persons chosen out of such as were best versed in the knowledge of what had been usual in former judgments upon like cases; and as the first part was left to the equals or neighbours of the persons accused (as most likely to do justice to one of their own rank or acquaintance) so the other was committed to persons of learning or knowledge in the ancient customs, records or traditions of what had long passed in the course of justice among that nation: thus we find it evident, that in the *Saxon* reigns in *England*, causes were adjudged by the Aldermen and Bishop of the several shires, with the assistance of twelve men of the same county, who are said to have been judges or assistants to the two first, by such as affirm or pretend this manner of trial to have been drawn by the conqueror himself out of *Normandy*, who is thereby said to have introduced in this, as well as some other forms, the *Norman* laws into the common law of *England*. It is true, that the same custom or trial was used in *Normandy* before the conquest, and it is most probable, that neither the *English* received it from the *Normans*, nor these from the *English*; but that both nations, deriving their original from those ancient *Goths*, agreed in several customs or institutions, deduced from their common ancestors, which made this trial by Juries continue uninterrupted in *England*, not only by the *Normans*, but by the *Danes* also, who were but another swarm of that great northern hive. It is true, the terms of jury and verdict were introduced by the *Normans*, with many others in the style and practice of our laws; but the trials by twelve men, with that essential circumstance of their unanimous agreement, was not only used among the *Saxons* and *Normans*, but is known to have been as ancient in *Sweden*, as any records or traditions of that kingdom, which was the first seat of the *Gothic* dominions in the north-west

parts of *Europe*, and it still remains in some provinces of that country. However, King *William* caused this to be observed as the common law of the kingdom, and thereby gave great and universal satisfaction to the body of the people, both *English* and *Normans*.

The borough-law had been likewise anciently established among the *Saxons*, whereby every shire was divided into so many hundreds or boroughs, consisting at first of one hundred families therein usually inhabiting; every hundred into so many tythings, consisting of ten families. If any person committed, or were accused of any crime, the tything to which he belonged was bound to produce him to justice before the court of the hundred or county: if he fled, they were to swear they were not accomplices of the fact, and that they would procure the criminal, whenever they could find him; if this failed, in a certain time, they would discover all the goods he was possessed of within their tything, to satisfy the damage done to a subject, or a fine to the King upon such an offence; if neither person nor estate appeared, then the tything was answerable to a certain proportion; and if that were not sufficient, then it was laid upon the hundred. By this means, it became every man's interest, as well as his duty, to prevent all crimes and misdemeanors among their neighbours, and to discover the criminals, since they were otherwise to share in the penalty; and as the rest of the tything was bound for the behaviour of every freeman among them, so every lord or master was bound to answer in the same manner for their servants.

I know not whether any constitution of government, either antient or modern, ever invented or instituted any law or order, of greater wisdom, or of greater force, to preserve the peace and safety of any state, and of equal utility to the Prince and people, making
virtue

virtue and innocence of life so necessary, by the easy apprehension or discovery, and certain punishment of offenders. This law the King caused likewise to be severely observed during his reign, finding therein his own interest as well as his peoples, and the great security of his new-settled government.

He confirmed all mens properties, inheritances, and successions, invading none, either for his own benefit, or reward of his *Norman* forces, or friends, excepting the possessions of such as had opposed his claim to the Crown, which he pretended to be a lawful right, as derived from the testament of *Edward the Confessor*, and thereby was made a pretence of legal forfeiture in all that resisted him: but this blow to so many estates and families was given at once, and no more renewed: on the contrary, justice was administred equally to the *Englishmen*, upon the injuries of the *Normans*, who presumed upon the King's favour, in prejudice of right, and of those laws he had confirmed or established. Whereof one memorable instance remains upon record, even in those writers who were most severe upon the actions and memory of this Prince: it was an action between *Warren* a *Norman* and *Sherburn* an *Englishman*: the first by virtue of a grant, from the King, had entered upon the lands of the other; who came into court, and pleaded, that he had never bore arms against the King, nor opposed his title or accession to the Crown, but had lived always peaceably upon his own lands, and so was liable to no forfeiture by the common law, but was farther secured by the King's declaration, immediately after his coming to the Crown: upon which plea, a just sentence was given in favour of *Sherburn*, his lands restored, and *Warren* the *Norman* cast and condemned to the costs of the suit.

He appointed justices to preserve the peace, and administer justice in every county, pursuant to that which was used in the *Saxon* reigns. For the pleas of the
the

the Crown, and those of greater moment, between the subjects, he created judges of the most learned and able he could find; and ordained four terms each year, consisting of a certain number of days, wherein justice should be duly administred, and all suits heard in such places as the King should appoint and find most convenient. Besides these orders, he instituted the courts of *Chancery* and *Exchequer*; the first for tempering the rigour of laws, according to the dictates of conscience and equity; and the other for determining all actions concerning the revenues of the Crown, and punishing exactions or irregular proceedings in the officers who levied or received them, as well as defaults or delays in those from whom it was due.

For taxes or impositions unusual, it does not appear that he levied any, excepting one of six shillings upon each plow-land throughout the kingdom; nor is it well agreed at what time, or upon what occasion, this was raised, whether by consent of a general assembly, or by his own regal authority; by this, indeed, he imposed *Donegelt* upon the invasion of the *Danes*, which happened once or twice in this reign, tho' with little progress or success.

This tax was first raised by *Ethelred*, upon the first enterprize of the *Danes* upon *England*, and afterwards used by several of his successors, upon the like danger, sometimes to repulse them by force and arms, sometimes to evade them by bargains and money; where-with they compounded for the present dangers, but invited others to come by such mean defences.

This tax grew odious to the people, whenever it was raised upon any other pretence, than a *Danish* invasion; and though it was sometimes levied, yet very seldom, and cautiously, by some few of the *Saxon* Kings, and but once or twice by this *Norman* Prince, and then, most probably, upon the true natural occasions, which had given it the first original: thus, I suppose,

suppose, it is confounded with the tax before mentioned, and without applying it to the *Danish* invasions, by some writers who seem to take all occasions of defaming the actions and memory of this King, and to avoid all just excuses of any that were ill resented: and this proceeded from the ill talent of the monkish writers, who measured the virtues and vices of Princes, by the opinion of their favour or disaffection to the clergy, whom they accounted, or stiled the church; though this general appellation is known to comprehend not only such persons as were anciently chosen to administer the offices of divine worship, but also all believing Christians that composed such assemblies, to whom those offices were administred: of this the King seemed to be sensible, for though he was a Prince of known and great piety, and so approved by the several Popes during his reign; yet he appeared very little favourable, if not something hard to the ecclesiastics of this kingdom; and perhaps something bold with their privileges, so long enjoyed under the devout *Saxon* Kings.

For the rest, he contented himself with the usual revenues of the Crown; and by his great order and management, as well as moderation in his constant expence, gained much ease to the Crown, and satisfaction to his people.

The chief and ancient branches of the Crown-revenue consisted of, first, the lands of old reserved as a provision for the King's household, and so reckoned as Crown-lands: these, at first, yielded only certain quantities of provisions, as beef, sheep, wheat, hay, oats, according to the nature of the lands, the tenures by which they held, and the quantity of provisions found necessary for the King's household; what overplus remained, was compounded for, and paid in money, according to the rates usual and agreed. The next was a duty reserved anciently out of every Knight's fee;

fee ; which, at first, was constantly paid as a quit-rent, but being very small, came, in time, to be neglected by the Kings, that contented themselves with the military attendance of the Knights in their wars ; and with levying sometimes a greater duty, upon great or urgent occasions, under the name of *escuage*, which was burthenfome and odious, till the proportions and occasions came to be ascertained. Those authors who will make the conqueror to have broken, or changed the laws of *England*, and introduced those of *Normandy*, pretend this duty of *escuage*, with the tenures of Knight's service and baronage, to have come over in this reign, as well as the trial by juries : but as enough has been said to clear the last, so it needs no proof that these, with the other feudal laws, were all brought into *Europe* by the ancient *Goths*, and by them settled in all the provinces which they conquered of the *Roman* empire ; and, among the rest, by the *Saxons* in *England*, as well as by the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and the *Normans* in *Normandy* ; where the use of their states, or general assemblies, were likewise of the same original.

The last common branch of the King's revenue, consisted of forfeitures, both of lands and goods, in cases of treason ; and fines, or some known mulctary punishments upon other crimes, which were distinctly prescribed in the *Saxon* laws, even for manslaughter and murder itself ; the rigour of those times not extending to blood, except in those cases where the common safety of the kingdom was concerned, by the danger of the King.

By all these orders and institutions, and the clemency, as well as justice, wherewith they were administered, the King, how new soever his reign, how disputed his title, and how disagreeable his person by a foreign birth, yet so far gained the general affections and satisfaction of the Commoners of the realm, who ask nothing

nothing but security in their estates and properties, that no commotions afterwards raised by the Nobles and clergy against his government, though in favour of a better right and title, were ever supported by the Commons, who compose the mass and bulk of a nation: and whose general good or ill humour, satisfaction or discontent, will ever have the most forcible influence for the preservation, or ruin, of any state.

Besides the good and profitable institutions and orders of this King, already mentioned, so generally approved, and so grateful to the commonalty of the realm, there were others, of a different nature, and which had a contrary effect, by distasting and disobliging many of the chief Nobility, and most or all of the clergy; though some were so cautious, as not to lose their dignities or revenues, by expressing their resentments.

The offences taken by these last, were, first, the arrogating, or surceasing the judiciary power, exercised by the Bishops, during the *Saxon* times, in each county, where justice was administered; and the Bishop, with the Alderman or Earl of each shire, sat as judges in those courts; which increased not only their authority, but their revenues too, by a share they had with the King in all fines raised from the issue of causes there determined: but all this was abolished by the King's institution of justiciaries, to administer justice upon all pleas of the Crown, and others among subjects, at four terms of the year.

This gave particular offence to the Bishops, but another to the whole clergy; for whereas before they held all their lands by *Franc almonage*, and subject to no duties or impositions, but such as they laid upon themselves in their ecclesiastical assemblies. This Prince finding above a third part of the lands of the kingdom in possession of the clergy, and the forces of the Crown, which consisted in Knight's service, lessened

ened in proportion by their immunity; he reduced all their lands to the tenure of Knights fees and baronage; and thereby subjected them to the attendance upon the King in his wars, and to other services anciently due; and sometimes raised upon all lands that held in fee from the Crown. This innovation touched not only the Bishops, but all the Abbots throughout the kingdom; many of whom were endowed with so great lands and revenues, that in right thereof they were, upon the regular constitutions of Parliaments, allowed session with the Bishops, as Barons, in the house of Lords.

The whole clergy exclaimed against this new institution, not only as an indignity and injustice, but as an impiety too, and violation of the sacred rights of the holy church: but their complaints were without redress, though not without ill consequence.

The discontents among many of the great Nobles, arose chiefly from two occasions: the first was, the rigour of the forest-laws, and of their execution: and the other was, the King's too apparent partiality to his *Normans*.

To know the ground, or pretence of these forest-laws, it will be necessary to run up to their original. In the first seizures and distributions made of the *British* lands, by the conquering *Saxons*, besides those reserved to the Kings, or divided among the people, and held by the tenures, either of Knights service, or of book-land, as it was termed among the *Saxons*, and thereby distinguished from that of villenage, there were many great tracts of barren, wild, or woody lands, left undisposed, and, in a manner, waste; so great numbers of *British* inhabitants having been extinguished by the wars, or retired into *Wales*, *Cornwal*, *Britany*, and *Scotland*; and the new *Saxons* not content to share among them any lands, but such as were fruitful, and fit to be cultivated: these were inclosed,

or

or improved as well as inhabited by the new proprietors, and the others left waste, as well as undisposed to any certain owners. The whole country was, as has been observed, very full of all sorts of wild game in the time of the *Britains*; who lived at large, without any inclosures, little property, and subsisted much upon hunting, fishing and fowling, which they had all in common. Upon the inclosing, or cultivating, of the fruitful lands by the *Saxons*, the wild beasts, naturally afraid of neighbours, whom they found to be all enemies, fled into the wild, woody, and desolate tracts of land, where they found shelter, and fed, though hardly; yet out of common sight and noise: and hereby all those parts became replenished with all sorts of game, especially with red and fallow deer, and made all those several extents of ground, which were afterwards called forests.

The *Saxon* Kings esteemed these to belong to the Crown, by their right to all possessions that have no certain owner, and by their never having been disposed upon the first divisions of land in the *Saxon* kingdoms, nor afterwards by any grants of the Crown. This right was not disputed, nor any use of it made, farther than for the King's pleasure, which yet was not by them restrained from the Nobles and Knights, that were borderers upon the forests, who were so moderate in those more simple ages, as to commit no excesses, or destroy the game, which it was their interest to preserve, both for their sport and the quarry; and for some use made of it for common pasturage among all the bordering neighbours.

William the Conqueror not only seized upon all these forests, as part of his own demesnes, but made a very large one in *Hampshire*, besides those he found, by laying waste, and leaving uninhabited great extents of land, which he pretended to be fallen to the Crown, by ancient succession, or by new forfeitures; and this he

called, *The new forest*, which name, after so long a course of ages, it still retains.

In all these forests he pretended an absolute right and dominion; and in pursuance thereof instituted new and arbitrary laws of his own, unused and unknown before in this kingdom, and very different from the moderation of the *Saxon* government. He confined all hunting or fowling in these forests to himself, or such as should have right to it by his concessions or permissions. He imposed fines upon all trespasses committed in them, according to his own pleasure, and which seemed much to exceed the fault or value of the thing. These he caused to be levied with great rigour and exaction; and thereby debarred not only his Commoners, but his Noble too, from a liberty they had before always enjoyed. Though he took care not to provoke the Commoners, by leaving pasturage free for such of the neighbours who lived most upon their stock, and thereby took no great offence at the restraint from their sport, which they had not time from their labour much to follow; yet the Nobles and Knights, who valued their sports more than common gains, and made use of their riches but for increase of their pleasures, resented this restraint as a sensible injury, as an invasion of their liberties, and even as an affectation of an arbitrary power in this particular; and from the exercise whereof he was only restrained by the regards of his safety and interest, in others of more moment and consequence: the great Nobles resented it yet farther, as an indignity, by levelling their privileges with the liberties of the Commoners; from whom they esteemed themselves distinguished by the usual regards and respects paid them from the Princes, in their degree, as well as from the people. Nor does it appear, whether this violent institution of the forest-laws proceeded from his passionate love of hunting (the only pleasure to which this

Prince

Prince was addicted) or from his avarice, by so many fines to increase his treasure, or from a desire of being absolute and arbitrary in one part of his government, which he found he could not be with any safety in the rest.

For his partiality to the *Normans*, though it was disguised, or, at least, not evident, in the common forms of his justice, which run a free and even course, yet it was easily discovered in that of his graces and favour; the civil offices, ecclesiastical benefices, places of most trust about his person, and in his realm, were conferred generally upon his *Normans*; and besides these advantages, and those of the forfeitures that fell upon his entrance, they appeared to have his countenance, his conversation, his confidence; so that whatsoever the *English* possessed of the kingdom, the *Normans* alone seemed to possess the King.

This might have been more excusable, if the *English* had considered the King as much as themselves, and many of his circumstances, as well as their own: they were strangers to him, or but new acquaintance; they differed in language, in manners, in customs; they had very lately differed in interest, and from enemies in war, were, indeed, now become subjects, but rather as to a conqueror, than a lawful Prince: the *Normans* spoke his native tongue, were trained up in the same customs, acquainted with his person from his youth, had attended him in his Court, followed him in his wars, at home and abroad; and thought it but just they should share in his fortunes, as they had in his dangers.

However, many of the great aspiring spirits among the *English* Nobles, could not bear this partiality of the King's: they thought the *Normans* ought to be provided of rewards or honours in *Normandy*, but those of *England* should be conferred upon *English*: besides, they resented the common testimonies of his inclination

to the *Normans*, as much as they could have done injuries to themselves; like generous lovers, who are more jealous and spited to see their rivals gain the inclination of their mistress, than the possession; and had rather they should have her body than her heart.

Upon all these causes, the discontents of many chief *English* Nobles and Prelates, were grown to such a height, swelling more within, the more they were suppressed; that they wanted only a fair occasion to draw them to a head, and make them break out with violence, and much pain and danger to the state.

This was furnished them, either by fortune or design, in the third, fourth, or fifth year of the conqueror's reign; for the authors are neither distinct, nor agreed in assigning the causes, or the times of this King's actions in war, or institutions in peace; by which their true nature, and that of the Prince, would have been best discovered; whereas they content themselves to display their eloquence, or vent their passions, by relating general or particular events, what was done, and what was suffered in his reign; by which some of the *Norman* writers endeavour to represent him as a god, and some of the *English* like a devil, and both unjustly.

Edgar Atheling was nephew to *Edward the Confessor*, and the undisputed, as well as undoubted heir of the kingdom from the *Saxon* race: it was generally thought, that he had likewise been designed by King *Edward*, a just and pious Prince, to succeed him in the throne; and that his declaration pretended by *Harold*, or testament by the Duke of *Normandy*, were fictitious, or, at least, neither of them evident from any clear and undoubted writings, or testimonies. *Edgar* was besides, from the bounty of his nature, the excellence of his temper, the prerogative of his birth, and the compassion of his unjust fortunes, much and generally beloved and esteemed among all the *English*, both Nobles

and

and Commons; yet he neither opposed *Harold's* usurpation, nor the *Normans* conquest; whether for want of spirit to attempt so great an adventure, or upon prudence, not to oppose such powers, as he found unresistable, and in which so many circumstances had conspired, chusing rather to content himself with the shades of a private condition, out of danger and envy, or, at least, to attend some future occasions, that might open a more probable way to his hopes and his fortunes.

He was at *London*, among many other Nobles, when the famous and decisive battle was fought at *Hastings*, and the news brought of the Duke's victory, and of *Harold's* death: those of the Nobles who were for opposing the conqueror, were for declaring *Edgar Atheling* King; the citizens of *London* were at first disposed to the same resolution; but the Bishops and clergy, who had the greatest sway among both those orders, prevailed in this general council, for a general submission to the fate of the kingdom.

In pursuance of this resolution, *Edgar Atheling* with *Stigand* and *Alfred*, Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, two of the greatest *English* Lords, the rest of the Nobles and Bishops, who had attended the victorious Duke upon his way to *London*, was well received by him and treated with bounty, as well as humanity; so that the young Prince attended frequently at Court, accompanied the King into *Normandy*, returned with him into *England*, and lived there for some time, like one who had forgot his birth and his title, though they were by the *English* well remembered: but at length, either weary of rest, or roused by other spirits more unquiet than his own, he resolved, or at least pretended, to make a journey into *Hungary*, where he was born, during his father's exile, had lived long, and was much beloved: he embarked

for *Flanders*, with his two sisters *Margaret* and *Christine*; but, forced by a storm and contrary winds, or allured by fairer hopes, he was driven upon the coasts of *Scotland*; the first was given out, but the last suspected, from the event of this voyage. He was received by *Malcolm* the King, with great kindness, and compassion of his disasters, both at sea and land; was resorted to by all the Nobles and Gentlemen who had sheltered themselves in that kingdom upon hate or fear of the conquest in *England*; and was by them acknowledged and honoured as the true and lawful heir of that Crown. Soon after his arrival, the King of *Scotland*, inflamed either with the beauty of the young Lady, or with the hopes of her brother's fortunes, or upon former concert with the *English* Nobles residing in *Scotland*, and intelligence with others discontented in *England*, married the Lady *Margaret*, eldest sister of *Edgar*; and thereby became newly engaged in the interests, and family of this noble, but unfortunate Prince.

The fame of this adventure was no sooner divulged in *England*, than it raised a great, though different motion in the minds of all men there, who were either well or ill affected to the new King, filling one party with new hopes, and the other with new fears, and reasonably enough in both, from all common appearances. Many persons of great note and authority in *England* repaired immediately upon it into *Scotland*, some by easy passages out of the northern counties, and others out of the remoter parts of the realm, by more difficult escapes, either by sea or land. Among these were the Earls *Edwin*, *Morcar*, *Hereward*, *Syward*, *Gaspatrik*, men of great estates and power, as was believed, in *England*, with many other Nobles and Gentlemen. But that which seemed yet of greater influence and authority, was the repair of *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Alred* of *York*, with divers other Bishops

Bishops and Prelates, who having been the chief instruments in making way for the easy accession of Duke *William* to the Crown, and for the general submission of the *English* to his reign, were presumed now likely to prove of as great moment and importance for the restoration and support of a just *English* title in *Edgar*, as they had been for the admission and establishment of one disputed and foreign, of the *Norman* Dukes: besides, the clergy being accounted the wise and learned men of that age, were esteemed most likely to judge best of the rights, and best to foresee the events in disputes of the Crown, and unlikely to embark themselves in a bottom unsound, upon either the regards of justice or success.

Edgar, exalted with such a concourse of Nobles out of *England*, and the hopes they gave him of a greater from the people there, when he should appear among them, resolved to lay claim to that Crown, and with stronger arguments, than those of a bare title, or right of succession, how just soever: for the *Scots* King had now assisted him with a great army, being induced to engage openly in his quarrel, not only by the charms of his wife, or compassion of her brother's hard fortune, but by reasons of state, as well as of justice and affection: he feared the dangerous neighbourhood of so powerful, aspiring, and fortunate a Prince, and apprehended his ambition would not cease with the conquest of *England*, but extend it to that of *Scotland* too, and reducing the whole island of *Britain* under one dominion, for which it seemed by nature to have been framed; he thought it both wise and necessary, to give some stop to this growing power, before it became too well settled at home, and thereby prepared for new enterprizes abroad; and that it was better carrying a war into *England*, than expecting it in *Scotland*. He was glad of so fair an occasion to justify his quarrel, and by advancing the fortunes of *Edgar*, to secure his

his own : he had taken measures with *Swane* King of *Denmark*, to enter the *Humber* with a powerful navy, whilst he with his army entered the northern provinces by land ; and with the sons of *Harold*, at the same time, to invade the West, by the assistance of forces to be furnished by *Drone* King of *Ireland*, to whom they had fled upon the *Norman* victory. He presumed upon great insurrections among the *English*, in favour of *Edgar*, and by the authority of the Nobles, his associates, who had represented the common discontents in *England*, to be as great as their own.

These hopes were not ill-grounded, nor the designs ill laid ; for the *Danish* fleet was ready to sail, and the sons of *Harold*, with their *Irish* forces, landed and raised a commotion in the West, at the same time that *Edgar*, with those out of *Scotland*, invaded the North, where he found at first no opposition ; but instead of enemies, met with many friends prepared to receive him, and increase his strength : he made himself master of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and the Bishopric of *Durham*, by the defeat of *Robert* Count of *Mortain*, who was there slain, with seven hundred *Normans*. From thence he marched without resistance, as far as *York*, which was defended by a strong garrison of *Norman* soldiers : he besieged this city, the capital and defence of all the northern counties, and assaulted it with that fury, that he carried the town by storm, where all the *Normans* were put to the sword by the rage and revenge of the *English* Nobles in his army ; many in the heat of the assault, and the rest, after they were entered, and found no more resistance. After this success, *Edgar* remained some time at *York*, to refresh his army, after so long a march, and so warm an action, which had cost him the lives of many brave men, and the wounds of many more. Besides, he expected here to see his army soon increased by the repair of many friends, and discontents out of the southern provinces of *England*,
and

and by the arrival of the *Danish* fleet in the *Humber*, according to the concert before agreed, and for which he knew all had been prepared.

King *William* thus surrounded with dangers from the West and North, and with jealousies of his new subjects, of whose affections he had yet made no trial, farther than some few years submission to his government; was yet undaunted at the news of all these attempts, nor any ways distracted by such various either dangers or fears. He applied himself to those which were nearest by sending the forces he had ready, immediately into the West, under experienced Commanders; and prepared a greater army both of *English* and *Normans*, to march himself into the North, after the commotions in the West should be appeased: this happened to be easier and sooner than he expected; for the attempt of *Harold's* sons, with their *Irish* forces, proved weak and faint, though successful in the first encounter; wherein *Ednoth*, a brave Commander on the King's side, was slain, with several of his followers; but the sons of *Harold* being defeated in a second engagement, and failing of any considerable recourse or insurrection of the *English* there (upon which they had grounded their chief hopes) much disappointed, and thereby discouraged, were easily broken by the brave *Norman* troops, and forced to return with the remainder of their *Irish* forces into *Ireland*.

King *William*, upon the happy end of this adventure, after the best orders taken for the security of the southern parts, in his absence, marched at the head of a brave army into the North, engaged the forces of *Edgar* in a set battle; and by the valour of his troops, the discipline and order of his army, and his own excellent conduct, defeated intirely the united strength of his enemies; besieged and took again the city of *York*, defended by *Waltboef*, son to the Earl *Syward*, a young Gentleman of great valour, and much ad-

mired in this action, being said to have stood firm at a breach made in the wall, and with his sword to have cut off the heads of many *Normans*, as they pressed to enter, and could do it but one by one, by the narrowness of the breach so bravely defended.

After this defeat, and the surrender of *York*, *Edgar* retired into *Scotland* with those of his dependants, who were most desperate and impatient of the *Norman* conquest. The rest of the *English* Nobles, who had escaped the battle, submitted themselves to the King, and came in upon public faith, took a new oath of allegiance, and were thereupon all pardoned, and many restored, not only to their estates, but to favour with the King; who had found *Erick the Forester*, that had first rebelled against him, after his coronation, express great fidelity, after his pardon obtained, and perform good service in this northern expedition. He made *Gospatrick* Earl of *Northumberland*, and employed him against the dangers and incursions he apprehended from the *Scots*. He was so charmed with the valour and constancy that *Waltbeof* had shewed in the defence of *York*, (though so much to his cost, and the loss of so many *Normans* by his sword) that he resolved to gain him at what rate soever he valued himself, shewing the nobleness of his own courage and virtue, by loving and honouring them in his enemies. He married this young Gentleman to *Judith* his niece, gave him great possessions, besides those to which he was heir, and used him with much confidence; which was for some time returned with service, and with faith.

Most of the other Nobles that came in upon pardon of their lives, he despoiled of their estates and offices, and bestowed them upon his *Norman* friends and followers: some he kept prisoners whom he thought most dangerous; as the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and *Edwin*, a man of the greatest power and dependencies, whose Earldom and great possessions in *Yorkshire*,

Yorkshire, were given to *Alain* Earl of *Britain*; as were those of several others at the same time, to others of his kindred or friends. In the room of *Stigand*, he made *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, an *Italian* born, but an Abbot in *Normandy*, a person of great wisdom and temper, as well as learning: *Thomas*, his Chaplain he made Archbishop of *York*, and obtained the approbation of the Pope, for their succession in those Sees (during the lives of the other two) upon representation of other crimes, or, at least, vices besides their rebellion against a King, whose title had been confirmed by the Pope, as well as encouraged.

'Tis not agreed at what time the *Danish* fleet arrived upon the coasts, but it is certain, they entered *Humber* with about two hundred sail: some write, that they returned again without making any attempt upon the shore; that their Commanders were enriched with great presents from the King, and their soldiers supplied with provisions, and all treated rather like friends than enemies: whether their arrival out of time, made them despair of any success, and whether that [were] occasioned by cross winds at sea, or cross purposes in the *Danish* Court, is not well known: for *William the Conqueror*, after he was seated in the throne, feared no insult from abroad, but by *Danish* powers, and pretensions they had still upon *England*; and the preparations (as was divulged abroad) of *Swane* their King, for invading it with a navy of a thousand ships. Hereupon he endeavoured to ward this blow, by flight rather than force, thinking his safety on that side, better purchased with treasure, than with blood. He practised private intelligences in the *Danish* Court, and by force of presents and pensions, gained to his devotion some persons of credit, and among the rest, *Edelbert* Archbishop of *Hamburgh*, a man of great authority in those parts, and whose advices were much used and

and esteemed by the *Danish* King. It was believed the artifices and practices of these men, eluded the first great design of a mighty invasion, changed it into an assistance of the discontented here with smaller forces, delayed them till the time was passed, and disposed their Commanders to return without action, and their master to receive their excuses with approbation, or at least with impunity.

Yet there are other writers, who say, the *Danes* landed in *England*, made great spoils, joined Prince *Edgar's* forces, wintered in this kingdom, and returned in the spring, by the King's private practices and rewards among the Commanders, as well as bounty to the soldiers.

The King, after having established his affairs in the North; returned triumphant to *London*, where the first action he performed, was, to take a new personal oath before *Lanfranc* the new Archbishop, and all the Lords then present in that city, to observe the ancient laws of the realm, established by the Kings of *England*, his predecessors, and particularly those of *Edward the Confessor*.

This action of the King's was the more applauded, and the better accepted by the *English*, because it was unconstrained by any necessity of his affairs, or appearance of any new dangers, against which he might have reason to provide. And it is certain, his oath taken at his coronation, of preserving the ancient laws of the realm, had been the chief occasion of his safety in the late and dangerous convulsion of the state; together with the ill chosen time of the *Scots* invasion, and the revolt of the Lords in favour of *Edgar*: for if such attempts had been made soon after the conquest, while the minds of the people were generally in motion, and in fear of what might succeed, to the danger of their properties, and their ancient liberties, upon that new revolution, his throne had not been only sha-
ken

ken, but in evident danger of being overthrown by such a violent concussion. But the people having lived quietly some years under the protection of their ancient laws, and in an equal course of known and common justice, grew indifferent to the change which had been made in the rights or succession of the Crown, or to any new one that might succeed. Besides, tho' they were well affected to *Edgar*, yet they disliked the company with which he came attended, and hated the entrance of a *Scots* army into *England*, more than they loved *Edgar*. They thought, if he succeeded, the dominion would fall under the *Scots*, whilst he only retained the name; and if they must be governed by strangers, the best was to have those they were already used to, and so feared least. The common subjects of a kingdom are not so apt to trouble themselves about the rights and possession of a Crown, as about their own; and seldom engage in the quarrels of the first, but upon some general and strong apprehensions, that the last are in danger. So the discontents and insurrections of the Nobles in *England*, though encouraged and supported by foreign forces, yet failed of success against this new King and his government, because they were not followed by any general commotion or sublevation of the people, which left all safe and quiet in the southern parts, and main body of the kingdom, whilst he marched with his army against his enemies in the North. Nor is the safety of a Prince so firm and well established upon any other bottom, as the general safety, and thereby satisfaction of the common people, which make the bulk and strength of all great kingdoms, whenever they conspire and unite in any common passion or interest. For the Nobles, without them, are but like an army of officers without soldiers, and make only a vain show or weak noise, unless raised and increased by the voice of the people; which

which for this reason is in a common *Latin* proverb called, *The voice of God*.

No Prince ever made greater or happier experience of this truth, than *William the Conqueror*, both in the events of the last and formidable dangers, which he so easily surmounted, and in the whole course of his subsequent reign, which was infested by many new troubles, either in *England* or in *Normandy*, that would have proved fatal to him, if he had been distracted by the common discontents, or insurrections of his *English* subjects; for his present calm was not of long continuance; the clouds soon gathered again, and threatened another storm, and from the same winds by which the last had been raised.

Malcolm King of *Scotland*, still persisted in the envy and fear of his neighbouring power and greatness, still esteemed it his own interest to join with those of *Edgar*, and his dependants in *England*, and thereby weaken the force, or disturb the quiet of the *Norman* government in *England*, before it should by the favour of time and calm seasons, take too deep root, to be afterwards shaken. He raised a greater army than before, with which he threatened again to invade *England*, and led them himself, though still in favour only of *Edgar's* title and advancement to the Crown. He entered into new practices with several of the *English* Nobles who had followed him, though unfortunately, in the last expedition, and were resolved to repair their former losses, by venturing greater, rather than give over the game. Nor could the hopes of the discontented *English* ever die, while the root was alive, and they were fomented by the malice, and encouraged by the forces of so powerful a neighbour, joined with so just pretensions, as those of *Edgar* were generally esteemed.

When the preparations in *Scotland*, and intelligences in *England*, were ripe for execution, the Earl *Edwin* made

made his escape, and fled towards the North, but was by the way murdered by some of his own retinue. The Earls *Morchar* and *Hereward*, who were already upon the wing for the same flight, discouraged by this misadventure, durst not pursue it; but yet already engaged too far to make a retreat, they made way to possess themselves of the isle of *Ely*, fortified there the best they could, and hoped the *Scots* invasion would divert the King's forces from attempting them before winter, and that the season and situation together would there cover them for some time.

On the contrary, the *Scots* King was discouraged from beginning his march by the news of these disasters among his confederates in *England*, and chose rather to send the Bishop of *Durham* and Earl *Syward* out of *Scotland*, to relieve and animate those Lords, retired to the isle of *Ely*, than to enter *England*, without hopes of their making some diversion. But the King, who never feared or slighted any dangers, and knew they were like diseases, to be taken in time, marched immediately with his forces to the isle of *Ely*, beset it upon one side, with a great number of flat-bottom boats, and on another, made a bridge of two miles long, with incredible diligence and labour, and with such speed, as both surprised and terrified his enemies within. So as despairing of farther resistance, they all submitted to the King's mercy, except *Hereward*, who, with some few followers, escaped through the fens, and, through many dangers, arrived safe in *Scotland*. The rest of the Lords were sent prisoners, to several parts of the kingdom, where some remained during the King's life, and others died before him, with whom they could not be content to live.

The King, after this small adventure so happily achieved, and the present peace of his kingdom restored, yet considering the root of all his dangers was in *Scotland*, and unwilling to take up present quiet and safety

safety, at too great an interest of dangers to come, resolved to march into *Scotland* with a powerful army, and endeavour to secure himself on that side, either by a peace or victory. He first sent *Roger* a *Norman*, then *Gospatrick* Earl of *Northumberland*, with part of his forces into the North, to oppose the *Scots* army that was already entered those provinces, with great spoils and ravages of the country, and to keep them at a bay, till the King came up with the rest of his army. In the mean time, he assembled his forces at *York*, with the best choice of men and officers, and such numbers as he judged necessary for such an expedition, composed of *English* and *Normans*, whose emulation he encouraged, with promises of reward, and hopes of establishing their common safety by the success of this enterprize. From *York* to *Durham*, he met with many hardships and difficulties, from the wants of his army, in a country which had been so lately wasted by the *Scots* forces and his own, and with which he was then contented to prevent another invasion. But having surmounted all by his own care, and the patience of his men, from the example of their leaders, he marched near the borders without any opposition, though common fame had made him expect the *Scots* would give him battle in *England*, and not the trouble of so long a march.

But *Malcolm* their King, now destitute of hopes or assistances from any foreign confederates, or any insurrections in *England*, after the last disasters of the discontented Lords, began to cool the heats of his blood; and, instead of farther invading *England*, changed his counsels, and resolved only upon a defensive war. At the news of King *William's* entrance into the northern provinces, he quitted *Northumberland*, and, with good order, retreated back to the borders, and there encamped his army to the best advantage, without making any farther incursions into the *English* territories,
either

either to secure his provisions, or not to provoke his enemies, and render all terms of reconciliation desperate, or not to endanger his retreat, in case of any disaster.

The King of *England*, approaching the borders, and thereby the *Scots* army, thought fit likewise to encamp his own, both to refresh his soldiers, harassed by so long and difficult a march, as also to discover the forces of the enemy, observe their countenance, their order, and their motions, and thereby judge of their designs, and direct his own to the best advantage: so that for some days the two armies stood at a bay, seeming both prepared for a fierce encounter, and yet both content to delay it, from a mutual respect they had for one another's forces and dispositions. They were, indeed, not much unequal in numbers, nor in the bravery and order of their troops; both Kings were valiant and wise, having been trained up in arms, inured to dangers, and much imbroiled at home in the beginning of their reigns. They were now animated to a battle by their own courage, as well as their soldiers, but yet both considered the event, in the uncertainty and the consequence; the loss of a battle might prove the loss of a Crown, and the fortune of one day determine the fate of a kingdom; and they knew very well, that whoever fights a battle, with what number and forces, what provisions and orders, or appearances soever of success, yet, at the best, runs a venture, and leaves much at the mercy of fortune, from accidents not to be foreseen by any prudence, or governed by any conduct or skill. These reflexions began to dispose both Kings to the thoughts of ending their quarrel by a peace rather than a battle; and though both had the same inclination, yet each of them was unwilling first to discover it, lest it might be interpreted to proceed from apprehensions of weakness, or fears, and thereby dishearten their own soldiers, or

VOL. IV. E e e e encourage

encourage their enemies. The *Scots*, at length, began the overture, which was received by King *William* with a show of indifference, but with a concealed joy; and the more reasonable, as having the greater stake, the less to win, and the more to lose by the issue of a battle. The first parley was followed by a treaty, and this, after some debate, by a peace, concluded as between equal forces, so upon equal conditions; each King to content himself with the ancient bounds of their several kingdoms, whereof the borders were agreed. Neither to invade one another's dominions, nor to assist the enemies, or receive and protect the rebels of each other; prisoners in the last, or this war, to be on both sides released; and subjects, who desired to return, to be on both sides restored to their country and possessions.

Edgar, the principal, or most appearing cause of the war, was included and provided for in this treaty, to return into *England*, make his submission to the King, renounce any farther claim to the Crown; and thereupon, not only to be restored to his own possessions, with his friends and followers, but to be provided of a large and honourable maintenance from the King during his life. And thus this storm, which threatened both kingdoms with such fatal dangers, and long consequences, was of a sudden blown over; a general calm restored in the whole island of *Britain*; and the two Kings returned to enjoy the fruits of a peace, to which they had both contributed by their equal temper and prudence, as well as by their equal preparations for a war.

Soon after the King's return, *Edgar* repaired into *England*, where he was very favourably received, and all conditions of the treaty performed, and ever after observed with great faith and sincereness on both parts. He had his provisions and revenues (agreed by the treaty) fairly established; but being desirous to go

to the wars of the *Holy Land*, which was the common humour of idle or devout Princes in that age: he was furnished by the King with great sums of money, to prepare and maintain a noble equipage for that journey. He there gained much honour and esteem; after which, returning into *England*, he passed the rest of his whole life in the ease and security of a large, but private fortune; and, perhaps, happier than he might have done in the contests and dangers of ambition, however they might have succeeded. A rare example of moderation in Prince *Edgar*, and of magnanimity, as well as justice and clemency in this King; and very different from several of his successors, who defamed their reigns by the death of innocent Princes, for having only been born to just rights of the Crown, without any appearing means or attempts to pursue them, or endanger the possessors; thereby staining their memories with the blots both of cruelty and fear. For as clemency is produced by magnanimity and fearlessness of dangers, so is cruelty by cowardice and fear, and argues not only a depravedness of nature, but also a meanness of courage, and imbecillity of mind; for which reason, it is both hated by all that are within its reach and danger, and despised by all that are without.

The King, upon his return, began again to apply himself to the arts of peace, which consist chiefly in the preventing of future, as those of war, in the surmounting of present dangers. And as nothing raises the power of a Crown so much as weak and private conspiracies against it, rashly undertaken by some few discontents, unsupported by any general defections of the people, faintly pursued, and ending without success; so this Prince found his throne and authority more firmly established, in all appearance, by the happy issue of the two late wars, and the unfortunate events of his revolted Nobles; and now esteemed himself
more

more at liberty from those regards of his *English* subjects and their laws, which his unsettled state had made necessary upon his first accession to the Crown. He was provoked by the rebellions of so many of the greatest *English* Nobles, after their fealty sworn to him; he was persuaded of the general disaffection of the rest, and that the late insurrections would have been found much deeper rooted, and farther spread, if they had been attended with any success. He thought the *English* Lords and Bishops had too great dependance of their tenants and vassals upon them, and had themselves too little upon the Prince: since they esteemed themselves neither bound to attend him in the wars, unless they pleased, nor to furnish the expences, unless by their own consent in their general assemblies: nor was he satisfied to have them judge of his necessities, whom he thought unlikelyest to increase them, or, at least, to desire them. He believed the *English* in general would, as long as they retained the *Saxon* laws and forms of government, ever be affected to the race of their *Saxon* Kings: and for this reason, he was thought to have encouraged the voyage of *Edgar* for the *Holy Land*, by so large supplies of treasure, under pretence of that Prince's honour, but from true intentions of his own safety. Besides, he found his treasures exhausted by the great charges of his two last expeditions, and the just rewards he had promised both his *Normans*, and those of the *English*, who had well and faithfully served in them. Though he had once or twice (for it is left in doubt) levied the tax of *Danegelt* upon the threats of a *Danish* invasion, and by an ancient prerogative of the *Saxon* Kings, pretended or exercised upon that occasion; yet he found it was not raised without great murmur and reluctancy of the people, as well as the Nobles who pretended to ancient liberties, of paying no taxes imposed without

the

the consent of their general assemblies, which began in this King's, or his son's time, first to be styled Parliaments, according to the *Norman* phrase; whereas they had by the *Saxons* been called *Gemoots*, and, by their *Latin* writers, common councils, or general assemblies of the kingdom, though how composed, is left uncertain, and has raised much argument and dispute.

All these considerations either moved or augmented at this time, a design or inclination of this King to change the whole frame of the *English* government, to abolish their ancient laws and customs, and introduce those of *Normandy*, by which he thought he should be more absolute, and too powerful to be again disturbed by any insurrection at home, or any invasions from his enemies abroad.

So soon as he had digested, and began to discover this resolution, it is not to be imagined what a universal discontent, and, indeed, consternation, it raised among all his *English* subjects, who under so great a King, attended by his victorious *Norman* forces, reckoned upon no other safety, but from the preservation of their ancient laws, whereof he had hitherto assured them. Whereupon the whole people, sad and aggrieved, as well as the Nobles, in an humble manner, but with universal agreement, tendered an earnest petition to the King: beseeching him, in regard of his oath made at the coronation, and by the soul of *St. Edward*, from whom he had the Crown and kingdom, under whose laws they were born and bred, that he would not change them, and deliver them up to new and strange laws, which they understood not.

Upon this humble, but earnest application of the whole *English* nation, united in their desires upon this occasion, the King, before he resolved, thought, at least, it was of weight to deserve the best deliberation, and thereupon fell into serious consultations upon
it

it with his council, whom he found much divided in their debates. The *Normans*, among them, were for his executing with vigour what he had determined, for abolishing wholly the *Englſh* laws, introducing the *Norman*, and maintaining his Crown and government by the ſame means he had gained them, which was by force and arms. They were encouraged in this opinion, by preſuming it agreed with the King's inclination, and were confirmed by the preſſing arguments and advices of his brother *Odon* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, a man of a violent nature, arbitrary humour and will; who, in the time of the King's abſence, and his being left vicegerent, had exerciſed many oppreſſions and cruel exactions upon the people, and had raiſed more clamour and hatred againſt the King's government, than any councils or actions of his own.

This ambitious Prelate aſpiring at the Papacy upon the next election, and deſpairing to obtain it by any other means, than the force of money, neglected or reſtrained no ways of heaping up treaſure, though none ſo ſure of increaſing his own, as by advancing the King's, by an abſolute power over the perſons and purſes of his ſubjects.

The *Englſh* of the King's council were of a different opinion, but being parties in the caſe, had been little conſidered, without the ſupport of *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who being born an *Italian*, was impartial to *Englſh* and *Normans*, eſteemed much by both, and more by the King. He was a man of ſound natural ſenſe, and univerſal goodneſs, of general knowledge, known virtue, long experience, and approved wiſdom; free and diſinterreſted, and in all counſels conſidering the King more than himſelf, and his true ſervice and welfare of the Crown, more than his humour or his inclination. The King ever adviſed with him in all the weighty affairs of his reign, allowed his liberty, and

and encouraged it, knowing him to be not only wise and good, but faithful to his interest, and affectionate to his person: happy in the choice or fortune of such a counsellor, and more in the disposition of hearing and weighing such advices, as were never so different from his own opinions or inclinations. Nor is any thing more dangerous for a Prince, than to consult only with persons that he thinks are of his own mind, or will be so when they know it; nor more pernicious in a counsellor, than to give only such advices, as he thinks most agreeable to him that asks or receives them.

Lanfranc, upon this great and weighty occasion, represented to the King, how much his safety depended upon the general satisfaction of his subjects: that of these, the *English* were much the greater part, both in strength and numbers; that no people could be easy under any laws, but such wherein they were born and bred: that all innovations were odious; but none could be more so, than this, as appeared by so universal agreement of the *English*, in their petition: that the humility and calmness of it was more dangerous, than if any thing had been done in hot blood, and the refusal would be the more resented: that the laws and constitutions of this realm had been digested by the wisest councils, and confirmed by a long succession of their Kings: that under them the *Saxons* had been good and loyal subjects, and their Kings, who ruled by these laws, never troubled with any seditions or insurrections of their people: that, besides reason and experience, religion was concerned in this resolution, since the King had already twice sworn solemnly, to observe them: so as a change of them now, would be taxed not only of injustice, but impiety: that nothing was of so much moment to a Prince, as reputation; and none more, than that of being a religious observer of his word and promise; but especially of his oaths, without

without which, he could never be trusted by his subjects, or his neighbours.

The King heard and weighed all their reasons, and by them formed his own judgment, which he ever trusted in the last resort. Upon mature deliberation, as the case required, he at length resolved, not only to continue the laws and customs of the realm, but to give the people new and more evident assurances of this resolution: in pursuance whereof, he granted and confirmed them by a public and open charter, and thereby purchased the hearts, as well as satisfaction of his *English* subjects, whereof he reaped the fruits in his succeeding troubles in *Normandy*, and his wars with *France*.

Yet he could not refrain shewing the kindness he retained for his own country and language, introducing, by connivance, or by countenance, several *Norman* customs, and endeavouring to introduce that language to be general in the kingdom. To this end, he caused many schools to be set up for teaching that tongue, which was a *bastard French*, not well understood by the *French* themselves, and not at all by the *English*. He caused the laws of the kingdom, which had been anciently written in *Saxon*, and by *Edward the Confessor* published also in *Latin*, to be now translated into *Norman*. He ordered all pleas in the several courts to be made in the same language, and all petitions presented the King, and all business of court, to be likewise in *Norman*. This introduced new terms, new forms of pleading and of process, new names of offices and of courts; and with them, all the litigious customs and subtilties of the *Norman* pleas and conveyances (who were a witty but contentious people) instead of the old *English* simplicity, in their common suits, pleas, or conveyances, which were plain, brief, without perplexities, made with good meaning, kept with good faith,

faith, and so followed by little contention, and that determined by speedy justice, and decision of monthly courts, in every county.

Among the *Saxons*, it was usual to grant lands and houses by bare words, and with the delivery of some trivial gift, as an horn, a sword, an arrow, a helmet, and yet the simple honesty of those times and people left such grants little subject to any disputes or contentions. But the Conqueror reduced all grants to writing, to signature, and to witnesses, which brought in cavils, and actions grounded upon punctilious errors in writing, mistakes in expression, which in much writing must sometimes happen, either by haste, weakness, or, perhaps, by fraud of conveyancers, and with design to leave matter of contentions, by which they subsist, as physicians by diseases.

Notwithstanding all these arts of the Prince, and industry of his Ministers, to introduce the *Norman* language in *England*, yet all was frustrated by the over-balance of numbers in the nation, in proportion to the strangers, and assisted by a general aversion in the *English* to change their language, which they thought would be succeeded by that of their laws and liberties: so that in this very reign, instead of the *English* speaking *Norman*, the *Normans* began generally, by force of intermarriages, ordinary commerce and conversation, to use the *English* tongue, which has ever since continued and composed the main body of our language, tho' changed, like others, by mixture of many new words and phrases, not only introduced by this great revolution, but by the uses and accidents of each succeeding age.

It seems very remarkable, and very different, what happened in *Scotland* about this time, and upon this subject; for upon the great recourse of *English* Nobles and Gentlemen into *Scotland*, seeking refuge from the first dangers and terrors of the *Norman* conquest; and

afterwards of many more who fled there in pursuit of *Edgar's* pretensions, and joined with the *Scots* in two invasions of *England*; but chiefly upon *Malcolm's* fond affection for his *English* wife, sister to Prince *Edgar*, his learning and commonly using or favouring her language, the usual compliance and conformity of Courtiers to the customs of their Prince, and the general humour of kindness in the *Scots*, at that time, to the person or rights of *Edgar*, and to all his adherents, that lost their own country, to follow his fortunes; the *English* language grew, in this King's reign, to be generally spoken, not only in the Court of *Scotland*, but in several countries thereunto adjacent, and among most of the Nobles in remoter provinces; and so it has ever since remained, as have many *English* families in those parts, habituated, and, with time, naturalized among them: and the ancient barbarous *Scots* tongue has been left current only in the more northern or north-west and mountainous parts of that kingdom, and in the islands that seem to have been first, and most intirely possessed by the *Scythians* or *Scots*, who so long ago invaded and conquered the northern parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*.

The contrary of this unusual change in language, appears to have succeeded in *England*, since in a little time, nothing remained of the *Norman* language in common use, besides the translation of our common law, which, though deduced from the ancient *Saxon* streams, yet the sound, and forms, and practice came to be *Norman*; like rivers which still run from their original sources, but yet often change their taste, from the soils through which they take their course, and sometimes from accidents of great inundations, which for the present change them, but leave them to return to their natural streams. A singular and instructive example, how strange a difference there is in the compliance

pliance of a nation with the humour of a Prince they love, or of one they fear.

Besides these changes in the language of our laws, and the forms of pleas, which were generally disaffected by the *English* subjects; this *Norman* King, either upon pretence of justice and piety, or else of necessity and safety, abolished several antient *Saxon* institutions, and made several new; which, how reasonable, or how useful soever, yet bred ill blood among the Nobles and clergy of *England*; though the people contented themselves with the continuance of their antient laws, and thought all they did or suffered for the King's service, well rewarded, while they might preserve what they called the laws of *Edward the Confessor*: and the King was so wise, as often to renew his oath to maintain them, for the general satisfaction of the people.

For the rest, he took all jurisdiction and judgment in civil causes wholly out of the hands of the Bishops, where it had been placed in the whole *Saxon* succession, after their conversion to christianity. And restrained the clergy to the exercise and administration of their ecclesiastical power. He endeavoured to abolish two antient forms of trial used among the *Saxons* with great reverence, even during their christian worship, though they were but remainders of their old Pagan superstition, but so rooted in the opinion of the people, as not to be dispossessed by new reason or religion: these were the trials *Ordeal*, and of *Camp-fight*. The first was either by fire or by water, and used only in criminal cases, where the accusation was strong, the suspicions great, but no proofs evident. In that of fire, the person accused was brought into an open place, upon even ground; several plough-shares heated red hot were laid before them, at unequal distances, over which they were to walk blindfold, and if they escaped any harm, were adjudged innocent; if their feet were
burned

burned by treading upon the hot irons, they were condemned as guilty. In the other of water, the accused were thrown into the water: if they sunk immediately, they were esteemed innocent, and guilty if they swam; either because it seemed against the nature of heavy bodies, or that the clear element would not receive them, but rejected them as polluted persons. The first trial was for those of better condition, and the other for those of inferior; and both were chiefly used upon accusations of unchastity, of poisoning, or of sorcery.

These trials, though grounded upon no reason, yet were thought approved by long experience; and the rather, I suppose, because any succeeding proofs of innocence, were as difficult to find, as any precedent evidence of guilt. And they were commonly called, the judgments of God, and performed with solemn oraisons, and other ceremonies, that amused, or rather enchanted the ignorant people into an opinion of their being sacred, as well as just.

The trials of *Camp-fight* were performed by single combat, in lists appointed for that purpose, between the accuser and accused, and were usual in actions both real and criminal, where no evident proof of fact appeared from witnesses, or other circumstances: the victor was acquitted, and the vanquished, if not killed upon the field, was condemned. These were performed with great solemnities, and either in presence of the King, who granted the combat, or of certain judges by him appointed for that particular case.

Both these sorts of trials this King abolished, as unchristian and unjust, and reduced all causes to the judgment of equals, or of a jury of twelve neighbours, and by legal forms: yet the last was some few times used in succeeding reigns.

In the beginnings of his reign, the kingdom had been much infested by outlaws and by robbers, and many

Normans

Normans were secretly murdered by the hatred of the *English*, as they passed alone upon the ways or the fields, especially in the night. To remedy this last mischief, he imposed a heavy fine upon the hundred, where the body of any *Norman* should be found slain, whether any discovery were made or no of the author or complices of the fact. For all rapes and robberies, he caused them to be punished so severely, by cruel mutilations of members, and hardships of labour, as left them miserable spectacles, or warnings of their crimes, during the rest of their lives. By the rigour of these courses, and cutting off the chief cause of such offences, which grow from idleness and expences, he reduced the whole realm to such security, that it is recorded in his time, how a fair maiden, with a purse of gold in her hand, might have travelled through the realm, without any danger offered to her honour, or her money.

Besides, to prevent any crimes that might be committed by favour or encouragement of the night, he ordered a bell to be rung in each parish, at eight o'clock in the winter, and nine in the summer; after which every man was to cover his fire, and stir no more abroad that night: and this was for that reason called, the *Cortew*, or *Couvresew* bell.

For the safety of his state, he erected several castles in many places most convenient of the kingdom; among which was the *Tower of London*, and *New-Castle* upon *Tyne* (either built, or by this King much enlarged) and garrisoned them by *Norman* or *English* soldiers; but all such as he most trusted, and who were ready in arms upon all occasions. Yet these forts were looked upon by the *English* as unnecessary in the times of peace, and as bridles, upon the liberties of the people, rather than preventions of dangers to the Crown.

After these institutions, he applied himself to the increase, order, and establishment of his revenue; and having

having (as he believed) satisfied the people in general, by the confirmation of the ancient and beloved laws, he thought he might be bolder with the clergy, whom he knew to be generally his enemies, and whose clamours he the less feared, from his own known piety, in frequenting divine worship, in building and endowing several monasteries, in presents to many churches, both in *England* and *Normandy*; but especially, in great treasures which he sent frequently to *Rome*. Therefore, upon pretence of his enemies in the two last revolts (and such as were designed to be their complices) having conveyed their plate, money, and jewels into the several monasteries throughout the kingdom; he caused all the rich abbies to be searched, their money, plate, and jewels, which were not necessary, or of common use in divine service, to be seized; and thereby brought at once a mighty treasure into his coffers, but an inveterate hatred of the clergy upon his person and reign: and this was the last of those actions that by the envenomed pens of the monkish writers of that age, left such a charge upon the memory of this Prince, by the imputation of cruelty, oppression, violence, exaction, and the breach or change of laws of the kingdom, either human or divine; though the same authors little consider, how ill this agrees with the high characters they themselves give of his personal qualities and virtues. Nor is it probable, that so vicious actions should proceed from so virtuous dispositions, or that so noble and excellent qualities of any Prince should be esteemed by the present age, or celebrated to posterity, which had been accompanied by cruel, infamous, or depraved actions during his life.

Having with these spoils of the clergy, as well as by the many forfeitures of the revolted Nobles, replenished his coffers for the present, he extended the care of his revenue not only to what might arrive in his own life,

life, but also in the times of succeeding Kings. To this end, he sent Commissioners into all the several counties of the whole realm, who took an exact survey, and described in a censual roll or book, all the lands, titles, and tenures throughout the whole kingdom. In this were distinctly set down, not only every barony, each knight's fee, every plow-land, but also what owners, by what tenures, at what rents or duties they held, and what stock they were possessed of, and how many *villans* upon their respective estates. All lands that held anciently of the Crown, or were by this King disposed upon forfeitures, he subjected to the usual tenures of baronies, or knight's fees, reserving in all the dominion in chief to himself, some quit-rents, or fines upon death and alienation: and likewise the custody of all heirs of such lands as were left under age, and the disposal of their fortunes, besides what was assigned for their maintenance, till they came to years of disposing their estates and themselves.

This book was composed after two old examples of the same kind, in the times of *Ethelbert* and *Alfred*, and was laid up as sacred in the church of *Winchester*; and for that reason, as graver authors say, was called *Liber Domus Dei*, and by abbreviation, *Domesday book*. The vulgar account is, that the name was derived from the nature, and so called, because every man was to receive his doom by that book, upon any dispute about the value, tenure, payments, or services of his lands, upon collection of the King's ordinary revenue, or the raising of any extraordinary taxes or impositions. And to make a precedent for the future, or to satisfy the great expences the King had been at, for the compiling this great roll of the kingdom, six shillings was raised upon every plow-land, which made the design of it less agreeable to the people; though every man's right thereby received a new evidence, and no injustice was complained of, in the digestion of
fo

so difficult a work, and of so various a nature. By this means, the King came to an easy and exact knowledge of his whole constant revenue, and so proportioned it to his expences, and the necessary cares of having always a fund or reserve of present treasure in his coffers, that after this time we never find him plunged in any difficulties for want of money, to supply many great occasions that ensued in his reign, nor tempted to impose any taxes upon his subjects, or other duties, than what were common and known, and paid without pressure or discontent among the commonalty of the realm: so as after all these institutions, he passed several years in great tranquillity at home, as well as honour from all his neighbour Princes.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, he went into *Normandy*, leaving his brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and created Earl of *Kent*, his Vicegerent in *England*; and little apprehending any storm after so long a fit of fair weather, or that he had left any ill blood behind him, that was like to gather to a head, with such an inflammation, and so dangerous symptoms, as soon after appeared. But no condition of human life is ever perfectly secure, nor any force of greatness, or of prudence, beyond the reach of envy, and the blows of fortune. Princes, as well as private men, are often in most danger at those times, and in those parts, they think themselves the safest; as strong towers are sometimes taken on those sides that are thought impregnable, and so left undefended, or little regarded. This conquering King esteemed himself now at ease for the remainder of his life, and not only safe in his own strength, but the satisfaction of his subjects. The *English* he had pleased in general, by the preservation of their ancient laws; the bravest and warmest blood of their Nobles was drawn in the battle of *Hastings*, or the wars with *Scotland*; their power was weakened by so many confiscations, and the retreat of many more
into

into *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The *Normans* were strong and numerous in *England*, and were his own by birth and by interest; the balance of these two parties seemed the defence of the whole; and it was not to be imagined, that both should combine in any danger to the Crown. Besides, there was left no pretension of any better right or title than his own, since *Edgar* had laid down his, not only in shew, but with firm resolutions never to resume them.

But many of the *English* Nobles still hated the name of a conquest, resented the change of forms and language in their laws, the introduction of any new customs; but especially the rigour of the forest laws, which they knew to be arbitrary, and esteemed not only a restraint of their innocent liberties, but an indignity in particular to themselves. Some of the chief *Norman* Lords, who had obtained great possessions by the King's bounty, and the confiscations of the *English*, being now invested in their lands and their titles, began to grow fond of their laws, as the safest tenure; and though they had gained their great estates by the favour of the King, yet they were not willing to hold them at his pleasure; and so joined with the *English* Nobles in the complaints of too great power exercised by the King, and the jealousies of greater yet designed, to the prejudice of the ancient constitutions of the kingdom, and diminution of the authority or dependances of the Nobles. Some of both nations, and equally ambitious spirits, who had been most favoured and advanced by the King, yet valuing their own merits too high, or their rewards too low, thought they had nothing, because they had not all they pretended, esteemed the King's favour or bounty to any others, as injury to themselves, and were as unsatisfied with what they had gained, as others with what they had lost.

These dispositions floating at first in the minds of several great Nobles, both *English* and *Norman*, and inflamed by such of the ecclesiastics, who had credit in the great families of both nations, grew at length to downright conspiracy of dispossessing the King of his Crown, and introducing the *Danes*, who were allied to many great Lords in *England*, were esteemed by the *Normans* of the same race with their ancestors. The chief of this conspiracy were the Earls of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, of greatest power among the *English* Nobility; *Fitz Auber*, a *Norman*, of near kindred to the King, and who had assisted him with forty ships upon his *English* expedition, and been recompenced with mighty possessions in *England*, and created Earl of *Hereford*; the Earl *Waltbeof*, who had been pardoned his revolt, upon the *Scots* invasion, married to the King's niece, and ever since intimately trusted, as well as favoured by the King. These entered secretly into intelligence with *Swane* King of *Denmark*, and with *Harold's* sons, who were still refused in *Ireland*: the first engaged to invade the northern parts with a navy of three hundred sail; the last, by the assistance of *Drone* King of *Ireland*, to attempt the western coasts with sixty ships, and the discontented Lords, to make a strong insurrection in some of the northern provinces, upon approach of the *Danish* fleet, which was concerted to be soon after the King's intended journey into *Normandy*.

These measures were laid with such caution, and pursued with such secrecy, that all was ready to be executed, before the King in *Normandy*, or his Ministers in *England*, had either notice or suspicion of any such dangers, or designs. *Fitz-Auber* had asked the King's leave some months before his *Norman* journey, to marry his sister to the Earl of *Norfolk*, and pretended some small discontent at his refusal. Not long after his departure, he declared the marriage, and the day appointed

appointed to consummate it in *Norfolk* with great solemnity, and the recourse of the nearest relations, and most intimate friends on both sides, among whom were the Earl *Waltbeof*, and *Eustace* Earl of *Bologne*, who came over on purpose to assist at the consultations here designed. At this meeting all was agreed; in what parts of the kingdom, under what leaders the several insurrections should be made, upon what pretences, and the time appointed to be when the *Danish* fleet should appear upon the coast.

But some delays interveining, which are fatal to all conspiracies that are trusted into many hands, this was discovered some days before the *Danes* arrived, but by whom of the accomplices is left uncertain; tho' some write, that it was by Earl *Waltbeof*, upon the conscience of so great an ingratitude to the King.

After the full and particular discovery of the whole plot, and all the chief conspirators, *Odon* the Vicegerent, with the assistance and advice of the King's council, immediately dispatched away several parties of the King's best troops, into the several parts where the insurrections were intended to begin, seized upon many of the conspirators before others had notice of the discovery, broke the rest before they could draw to a head; took Earl *Waltbeof* and *Fitz-Auber* prisoners, who were beheaded upon this occasion, and many others imprisoned. Whether this execution was by the King's command out of *Normandy*, or by the rigour of his brother *Odon*, and upon pretence of necessity in so dangerous a conjuncture, is not recorded; but it is agreed, that these two were the only Nobles that were executed in *England* during the reign of *William the Conqueror*, notwithstanding so many revolts, and so much power to punish and revenge them; which serves to make up that character of clemency of nature, that is allowed this Prince, among his other virtues, even by those writers who are severest upon his memory.

Both

Both the *Danes* and the *Irish* fleets were upon the *English* coasts, when they first received the news of their confederates discovery and disasters upon which they returned to *Denmark* and to *Ireland*; and after this time, the *Danes* never again attempted any invasion upon *England*, nor was this Conqueror any more infested or disturbed by any of his *English* subjects, during the rest of his reign; finding the conspiracy wholly suppressed, and the kingdom in perfect tranquillity upon his return, which he had yet hastened out of *Normandy*, upon the intelligence of his danger in *England*, and ignorance how deep it was rooted, or where it might end.

Nor was it easy to conjecture, since it was believed by wise men in that age, that the weakness and ill success of this conspiracy proceeded chiefly from the want of some popular pretension, that might have raised a commotion of the people in favour of the Lords; and, that if this had been designed in defence of *Edgar's* known rights to the Crown, and spirited by that Prince at the head of so many *English* and *Norman* Lords as were engaged in it, the throne had been endangered by this last shake. But the unfortunate Prince *Edgar* had made his first pretensions too late, and his last submissions too soon; and the *Danish* title was hated by the commons of *England*, though favoured by many of the Nobles, and thereby wanted the foundation proper and necessary to raise any firm building. Thus the infelicity of some Princes may be occasioned only by ill-timing their councils, when to attempt, and when to desist, in the justest endeavours; and the greatness of others may be raised and preserved by unperceived accidents, where the greatest reach of foresight and conduct might have failed. For had *Edgar* been at liberty to pursue his rights, upon this conjunction of the *English* and *Norman* Nobility, he might probably have gained the Crown; and had not

not some of the chief complices discovered the conspiracy, the Conqueror might as probably have lost it.

However these fortunes came to attend him thus far of his reign, yet here the courtain may be drawn over the happy scenes of this Prince's life: for the next that must open, will represent him in the decline of his age; embroiled in domestic quarrels, which could neither end in glory nor in gains; assaulted by his own children; opposed by his native subjects; forced to use strangers to reduce them to duty and obedience, after two dangerous revolts; and when these troubles were appeased, after much anguish of mind, and many dangers, ingaged by a trivial accident, and without any design, in a foreign war, with a powerful Prince; which, though pursued with his usual vigour and fortune, it first cost him his health, and at last his life.

William the Conqueror had by his wife *Matild*, daughter to *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders*, four sons, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*, besides several daughters. *Richard* was a Prince of the greatest hopes, but unfortunately killed by a stag, while he was hunting in the new forest: his untimely fall was much lamented by the King, but less by the people, who interpreted it as a judgment upon him, for the mighty wastes he had made, to extend the bounds of that forest, and for the rigour and oppression of the forest laws. The other three survived their father; but with very different fortunes, as well as merits, and very unequally distributed.

The King, before his expedition into *England*, had promised his eldest son *Robert* the dukedom of *Normandy*, in case he conquered the kingdom he then pretended: this promise was made before the King of *France*, and challenged by *Robert* after the King's first establishment upon the *English* throne. But the King, though

though he denied not the promise he had made, yet long delayed the performance, upon pretence of his unsettled state in *England*, from the discontents of his Nobles, and the *Scots* invasions, which made it necessary for him to keep *Normandy* as a retreat upon any great misfortune, or revolution in *England*. Duke *Robert* seemed content with these reasons, whilst they were justified by the appearances of any dangers in *England*; but perceiving they were ceased, and yet the delays continued, he grew at length impatient, and about the fourteenth year of the King's reign, assumed the government of *Normandy*, as Sovereign; and, in his own right, caused the Barons to swear fealty to him, as to the Duke, and not as his father's Lieutenant, and was received and obeyed by the *Normans*; who grew weary of a subordinate government, and thought they deserved the presence of their Prince among them, which they had enjoyed since the first establishment of their possessions in *France*.

Besides, *Robert* was generally beloved, as a Prince courteous, generous, and brave, though withal, ambitious, unquiet, and uncertain: yet these dispositions, both of Prince and people, had not alone induced him to engage in so bold a resolution, with such a breach of his duty and his trust, without the practices and instigations of the King of *France*, who, grown jealous of King *William's* greatness, and envious of his felicity, found no better way of lessening both, than to kindle this fire in his own house; and thereby the most sensibly to disquiet his mind, as well as to disjoint his state, and divide his power. He therefore not only encouraged *Robert*, but combined with him in this attempt, and engaged to support him with his forces, if his father disputed longer the justice of his claim.

The King, though at first discomposed at the news of this insolence in his son, yet believing it had no deeper

deeper root, but what would soon wither or be cut off, by his presence in *Normandy*, gathered immediately what forces he could raise, and, with an army of his *English* subjects, sailed over now to invade *Normandy*, as he had done before to invade *England* with his *Normans*. A strange revolution to befall one Prince, in so short a period of time, and which made as great a change in his dispositions, as his fortunes; for the great alacrity and faithfulness which the *English* expressed towards him in this expedition, gained so far upon his affections and confidence, that in the rest of his reign, and his succeeding wars, he seemed to place his chief trust in the courage and loyalty of his *English* subjects.

Duke *Robert*, informed of his father's preparations, neglected not his own; and though surprized at the suddenness of his arrival, to which the winds had conspired, he could not oppose his landing; yet soon after he was in the field at the head of a brave *Norman* army, and of two thousand men at arms which the King of *France* had sent to his assistance. With these forces he marched against the King, fell upon his vanguard, and by the success of an ambush he had laid in an advantageous pass, he broke them, killed some, and put the rest to flight; then he advanced against the main body, where the King commanded, and by an unnatural chance, he charged his old father with such fury, that, by the stroke of his lance, he wounded him in the arm, and overthrew him to the ground. The King calling out upon his fall, his son immediately knew his voice, and stung, upon the sudden, with the conscience of his crime and his duty, he leaped from his horse, raised his father up from the ground, fell down upon his knees, begged pardon of his offence, with offers, upon it, to return to his duty and obedience. The King, moved by the same force of nature

ture, received his submissions, forgave him, and embracing him, ended an adventure in tears of joy, which had begun in blood. The armies were as easily reconciled as their leaders, and all together marched to *Rouen*, where the King was received with all demonstrations of joy, and the Duke complimented upon his happy reconciliation with his father; nor were those the last in this crowd of rejoicers, who had been the chief in promoting the quarrel between them.

The King made no long stay in *Normandy*, diffembling the knowledge or resentment of what part the *French* King had played in this affair; but after having re-established the quiet and order of the province, returned with his whole forces into *England*, left his son in the government of *Normandy*, trusting to his duty, and the loyalty of his subjects there, as if nothing had passed to give him the least suspicions of either. A true strain of the noble and fearless nature of this Prince, who was rather made to surmount all dangers he encountered, by brave actions and judicious councils, than either to invite or anticipate his misfortunes, by distrust and vain apprehensions, which are but the distractions of weak and timorous minds.

Yet this sincereness and confidence of the King, had not the return they deserved; for Duke *Robert* having once tasted the Sovereign power, could not long digest any dependance upon another will; and lying still open to the practices of *France* upon his levity and ambition, relapsed the next year into his former distemper, and assumed again the sovereignty of *Normandy*, and as Duke thereof in his own right; which was again acknowledged and obeyed by the *Normans*.

The King, upon the news of this second defection in his son and his subjects, fell into great passion, and in it is said to have cursed his son, and the hour wherein he begat him: but soon returning to himself, with
his

his usual judgment and composure of mind, gave present orders for preparing a much greater army and navy, than he had used in last year's expedition; and though both were shattered by great storms, he met with at sea, yet, upon his arrival in *Normandy*, either the fame of his forces, or the lightness of his son's dispositions, or remorse of his duty, prevailed with Duke *Robert* to offer again his submissions, and obedience to his commands. The King again received them, pardoned both his son and his revolted subjects; but forced now to more caution than he had used before, after having settled once more the peace and quiet of *Normandy*, and placed the government in safer hands, he took his son with him into *England*, and employed him in the hard rough wars of *Scotland*, against *Malcolm*, who upon the King's absence, and confidence of being long detained by the *Norman* revolt, and diversion of *France*, had taken occasion to pass the borders with an army, and ravage the northern provinces of *England*.

Though Duke *Robert* gained no great honour by this expedition, yet the King gained his end; for the *Scots* disheartened by his unexpected return, and more by his perfect reconciliation with his son, returned home, upon the approach of the *English* army, and renewed the peace, which lasted the rest of the two Kings lives.

About the same time, incensed against the *Welsh* for many inroads and spoils upon the frontier counties; he sent an army against them, subdued the plain and accessible parts of their country, drove them to the fast holds of their mountains, forced them to sue for a peace, which he granted upon homage done him by their Prince, and upon hostages given for performance of the other conditions.

This fortunate and victorious King seemed now to have passed all the tempestuous seasons of his life, and

secure of repose for what remained; which was necessary or most agreeable to the great decline of his age. He was at peace with all his neighbours, obeyed and honoured by his subjects, feared by his enemies, and the troubles of his family were wholly appeased; so that it was hard for any man to conjecture from what side any new storm should arise. But the decrees of heaven are wrapped up in the clouds, and the events of future things hidden in the dark, from the eyes of mortal men. The wisest councils may be decomposed by the smallest accidents, and the securest peace of states and kingdoms may be disturbed by the lightest passions, as well as the deep designs of those who govern them: for, though the wise reflexions of the best Historians, as well as the common reasonings of private men, are apt to ascribe the actions and councils of Princes to interests or reasons of State; yet, whoever can trace them to their true spring, will be often forced to derive them from the same passions and personal dispositions which govern the affairs of private lives; as will be evident in the sequel of this King's reign.

The *Normans* were desirous to have a Prince of their race reside among them; the King was unwilling to venture again the ill consequences of his son *Robert's* ambition or inconstancy, and therefore sent him over into *Normandy*, but joined in commission with his youngest son *Henry*, whose duty and affection he most relied on, both to observe the actions, and temper the levity of his eldest brother.

These two Princes agreed better than is usual to associates in power, and governing the Province with moderation and prudence, reduced affairs there to such order and tranquillity, that having little business at home, they went to seek some diversion abroad, and made a visit to the King of *France* then at *Constance*, who

who received them with great honour and kindness, and, as was thought, not without design of renewing old practices with Duke *Robert*, to his father's prejudice. Whatever affairs might busy the thoughts of that King and the Duke, those of *Lewis* the young *Dauphine*, and Prince *Henry*, were taken up with the common entertainments of youth and of leisure, love, hunting, play, and other such divertisements, wherein the similitude of age and of customs, made them constant companions. It happened one evening, that the *Dauphine* playing at chess, at the Prince's lodging, lost a great many games, and much money, to Prince *Henry*, and grew thereupon first into ill humour, and at length into ill language; which being returned by the Prince, the *Dauphine* fell into passion, called him son of a bastard, and threw some of the chessmen at his head: upon which Prince *Henry*, intraged, took up the chess-board, and struck the *Dauphine* with such fury on the head, that he laid him bleeding on the ground, and had killed him, if his brother *Robert* had not retained him, and made him sensible how much more it concerned him to make his escape, than pursue his revenge; and thereupon they went down immediately, took horse, and by the help of their speed, or their own good fortune, got safe to *Pontoise* before they could be reached by the *French* that pursued them.

The King of *France*, exasperated by this accident and indignity to his son, which revived an inveterate malice or envy he had against King *William*, first demanded satisfaction, but at the same time prepared for revenge, both by raising an army to invade *Normandy*, and taking private measures with Duke *Robert*, to divest his brother *Henry* of his share in the government, and leave the dominion of that duchy to the Duke, according to his former pretensions, grounded upon his

his father's promise; wherein the King of *France*, as a witness, still pretended to be concerned.

The King of *England* seeing the war inevitable, enters upon it with his usual vigour, and, with incredible celerity, transporting a brave *English* army, invades *France*, and takes several towns in *Poitou*, whilst the *French* took the city of *Vernon*. By which hostilities on both sides, the first war began between *England* and *France*, which seemed afterwards to have been intailed upon the posterity and successors of these two Princes, for so many generations, to have drawn more noble blood, and been attended with more memorable achievements, than any other national quarrel we read of in any ancient or modern story.

King *William*, after taking of several towns, and spoiling much country in *Poitou* and *Xantonge*, returned to *Rouen*, where by the benignity of his own nature, and levity of his son's, he was the third time reconciled to Duke *Robert*; and thereby disappointed those hopes the King of *France* had conceived from his practices with that Prince; (and, as some write, with his brother *Henry* too) and defeated his pretext of assisting his right in the dominion of *Normandy*.

But *Philip* bent upon this war by other incentives, than those which appeared from the favour of Duke *Robert*'s pretensions, or revenge of the *Dauphine*'s injury, and moved both with the jealousy of the King's greatness, and the envy of his glory and felicity, resolved to prosecute obstinately the quarrel he had rashly begun; and not esteeming the sudden, though violent motions of a youthful heat between the two Princes, a ground sufficient to bear the weight of a formal and declared war; upon the news and spight of Duke *Robert*'s reconciliation with his father, he sent to the King to demand homage of him both for *Normandy* and *England*: King *William* answered, that he was ready to do him the homage accustomed for *Normandy*,
but

but would do him none for *England*, which he held only of God and his sword. The *French* King hereupon declared open war against him, which was begun and pursued with great heats and animosities on both sides, with equal forces, but unequal fortune; which favoured either the justice of the King's cause, the valour of his troops, or the conduct of their leader, upon all encounters.

He marched into *France*; took *Nantes*, and burnt it, with many villages about it, saying, that to destroy the wasps, their nests must be burnt. In the heat of this action, and by that of the fires, which he too near approached, he fell into a distemper, which forced him to retire his army, and return to *Rouen*, where he lay sick for some time, with ill symptoms, that gave his friends apprehension, and hopes to his enemies. During the expectation of this event, both sides were quiet, by a sort of tacit and voluntary truce between them. The King of *France* talking of his sickness, and mocking at the corpulency to which he was grown of late years, said, King *William* was gone only to lay his great belly at *Rouen*, and that he doubted, he must be at charge to set up lights at his up rising. The King of *England* being told this scoff, sent King *Philip* word, that he was ready to sit up after his lying-in, and that when he was churched, he would save him the charge of setting up lights, and come himself, and light a thousand fires in *France*.

No injuries are so sensible to mankind in general, as those of scorn, and no quarrels pursued between Princes with so much sharpness and violence, as those which arise from personal animosities or private passions, to which they are subject, like other mortal men. The King recovered, gathers the greatest forces he could raise, both of *English* and *Normans*, marches into the Isle of *France*, with fire and spoil where ever he came, approaches within sight of *Paris*, where that King
was

was retired: there King *William* sent him word, that he was up, and abroad, and would be glad to see him abroad too.

But the *French* King resolved to let this fury pass, and appeared not in the field, which was left to the mercy and ravage of his enemies. The King riding about to observe his advantages, and give his orders, and straining his horse to leap a ditch in his way, bruised the bottom of his belly against the pommel of his saddle, with such a weight, and so much pain, as gave him a relapse of his illness so lately recovered, forced him to march his army back into *Normandy*, and to go himself to *Rouen*. Here his bruise turned to a rupture, and his sickness increasing with the anguish of his wound, gave too soon and true apprehensions of his danger: yet he languished for some time, which he made use of to do many acts of great charity, and give other testimonies of piety, and resignation to the will of God, as well as to dispose the succession and affairs of his State; leaving by his testament the duchy of *Normandy* to his eldest son *Robert*, the kingdom of *England* to *William* his second son, and all his treasures, which were very great, to *Henry* his third. After this he ended his life in the full career of fortune and victory, which attended him to his grave, through the long course of more than threescore years reign. For he began that in *Normandy* about ten years old, and continued it above forty years before his *English* expedition, after which he reigned above twenty years in *England*, and died in or about the seventy second year of his age, and the year of our Lord 1087.

Several writers shew their ill talent to this Prince, in making particular remarks, how his corps was immediately forsaken by all his friends and followers, as soon as he expired; how the monks of an abbey he had founded, were thereby induced to come of charity, and take the care of his body and his burial, which
he

he had ordered to be at *Cáén* in *Normandy*, and in a church he had there built; how the ground that was opened to receive him, was claimed at that instant by a Knight of the country, who alledged it had belonged to his ancestors and himself, and was violently or unjustly seized from them by the King, so that his funeral was fain to be deferred till an agreement was made, and the value of the ground paid to the claimer: with other invidious circumstances, which may argue the ingratitude, avarice, or other vices of his servants or subjects then living, but not detame the memory, or obscure the glory of the dead.

Thus ended all that was mortal of this noble King, and this renowned Conqueror: for his fame will never die, but remain for ever in the lasting records of time, and monuments of glory, among the Princes most celebrated for their brave achievements in war, their wise institutions in peace, the length and prosperity of their lives and their reigns. In all which he must with justice be confessed, not to have been equalled by many, if, indeed, by any we read of in story.

I have made no mention of any great councils or assemblies held in this King's reign, because I find no clear evidence of the nature or constitution, the times or the occasions of them, whether like those used in the *Saxon* reigns, or like the parliaments in *Normandy*; or whether that style was introduced here in this King's time, or that of his son's, who succeeded him. It appears, that he often assembled the Nobles and Barons of the realm, but whether upon the solemnity of some great festivals, or of some occasions of more importance, either for the honour of his Court, or consultation of his affairs, I find not so well recorded, nor so easy to determine, as some will have it. It is agreed only, that there were two general assemblies of the clergy; one about the sixth year of his reign,
upon

upon a controversy between the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, about the primacy, which was therein determined in favour of the first: the other about erecting some new bishopricks, or translating their Sees from some decayed and smaller towns, to others grown in that age more populous and opulent. The *Litchfield* Chronicle also relates, how in the fourth year of his reign, he summoned out of every county the Nobles, the wise men, and such as were learned in their own law, that he might from them learn what were their ancient laws and customs. After which the laws of *St Edward* were conserved, and by him confirmed throughout the whole kingdom.

I have not been so particular as other writers, in the names of places, or of persons, or distinction of years; because in such antiquity of times and variety of authors, I find them very hard to be ascertained. Besides the disagreement among writers is so great, in assigning the years to the several actions of this Prince, that so important an affair as that of framing the *Doomsday-book*, is by some referred to the eighth, by others to the thirteenth, and by some to the nineteenth year of his reign: and many others are left in the same uncertainty.

I have likewise omitted the accounts and remarks, wherein some writers have busied their pens, of strange comets, inclemencies of seasons, raging diseases, or deplorable fires, that are said to have happened in this age and kingdom; and are represented by some as judgments of God upon this King's reign: because I rather esteem them accidents of time or chance, such as happen in one part or other of the world, perhaps, every age, at some periods of time, or from some influence of stars, or by the conspiring of some natural or casual circumstances; and neither argue the virtues or vices of Princes, nor serve for example or instruction

ction to posterity, which are the great ends of history and ought to be the chief care of all historians.

For this reason, as well as to comply with common custom, it may not be improper or unnecessary to end the wife, politic, and prosperous reign with the just character of this renowned Prince. Since all great actions in the world, and revolutions of states, may be truly derived from the genius of the persons that conduct and govern them; so as by comparing both together, and observing the causes as well as events, it may be easy to discern, by what personal qualities and dispositions of Princes, the happy and glorious successes of their own fortunes, with the greatness and felicity of their states, are generally achieved; for to attribute such great events to time, or to chance, were to destroy the examples, and confound the consequences of all virtues and vices among men.

William, surnamed *The Conqueror*, was of the tallest stature among those common in his age and country; his size large, and his body strong built, but well proportioned: his strength such, as few of his Court could draw his bow: his health was great and constant, which made him very active in his business and pleasures, till about the decline of his age he grew something corpulent. From all which, I suppose, came the story in some *Norman* writers, that he was eight feet high, or the size of *Hercules*.

As he was of goodly personage, so his face was lovely, but of a masculine beauty, the lines being strong, rather than delicate: his eyes were quick and lively, but when moved something fierce: his complexion sanguine: his countenance very pleasant, when he was gay and familiar; when he was serious, something severe.

His pastimes were chiefly hunting and feasting: in the first he spent much time, used great exercise, and yet much moderation of diet. In his feasts, which

were designed for magnificence or conversation, to know or to be known among his Nobles, and not for luxury ; he was courteous, affable, familiar, and often pleasant, and which made him the more so to his company, was easy at those times in granting suits and pardons.

It is by all agreed, that he was chaste and temperate, which, with a happy constitution, and much exercise, preserved not only his health, but vigour, to the last decline of his age.

He was of sound natural sense, and shewed it not only in his own conduct and reasoning upon all great occasions, but also in the choice of his Ministers and friends, where no Prince was happier or wiser than he.

He talked little, never wanted, observed much, was very secret, and used only *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with an universal confidence, both as a counsellor and a friend ; to whom he was ever meek and gentle, though to others something austere ; as if this Conqueror had been himself subdued by the wisdom and virtue of that excellent man.

In his purposes he was steady, but not obstinate, and though constant to his ends, yet applicable to occasions ; as appeared by his favouring and trusting the *Normans* in his troubles of *England*, and the *English* in those of *Normandy* ; and was either very wise, or very happy, in the arts of gaining enemies, and retaining friends, having never lost but one, which was *Fitz Auber*.

He was a Prince deep in his designs, bold in his enterprises, firm in his prosecution, excelling in the order and discipline of his armies, and choice in his officers, both of his army and his state : but admirable in expedition and dispatch of civil as well as military affairs, never deferring till to-morrow, what should be done to-day.

Above

Above all, he was careful and prudent in the management of his treasure, and finding a temper between the bounty of his own nature, and the necessity of his affairs, proportioning always the expences of his gifts, his buildings, his enterprizes, to the treasure he was master of, for defraying them, designing nothing out of his compass, and thereby compassing all he seemed to design.

He was religious in frequenting divine service, giving much alms, building abbies, and endowing them, sending presents of crosses of gold, rich vestures and plate to many other churches, and much treasure to *Rome*.

He was a great lover of learning, and though he despised the loose ignorant *Saxon* clergy he found in *England*, yet he took care and pleasure to fill ecclesiastical dignities here with persons of great worth and learning from abroad, as *Lanfranc*, *Durand*, *Anselm*, with many more.

He was a lover of virtue in others, and a hater of vice; for being naturally very kind to his half brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, having made him Earl of *Kent*, given him great revenues, intrusted him, in his absence, with the government of the realm; yet finding him a man of incurable ambition, avarice, cruelty, oppression, and profaneness, he at length wholly disgraced him, and kept him in prison during all the rest of his reign; which seems to have been a just punishment of his crimes, and sacrifice to the *English*, he had cruelly oppressed in the King's absence, rather than a greediness of his treasures, as some envious writers would make it appear.

Yet by the consent of them all, and the most partial or malicious to his memory, as well as others; he is agreed to have been a Prince of great strength, wisdom, courage, clemency, magnificence, wit, courtesy, charity, temperance, and piety. This short character,

rafter, and by all agreed, is enough to vindicate the memory of this noble Prince, and famous Conqueror from the aspersions or detractions of several malicious or partial authors, who have more unfaithfully represented his reign, than any other period of our *English* history.

Having taken a full view of this King in his actions, and his person, it remains only, that we consider the consequences that both of them had upon the condition of this kingdom, which will be best discovered by the survey of what it lost, what it preserved, and what it gained by this famous conquest.

England thereby must be confessed to have lost; first, very great numbers of brave *English* men, who fell in the battle of *Hastings*, and in two wars afterwards, by the revolt of the Nobles, and invasion of the *Scots* in favour of *Edgar Atheling*. Likewise many Nobles and Gentlemen, who disdaining all subjection to a foreign and conquering power, retired into *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Denmark*, and after the extinction of their hopes, by the suppression of all endeavours in favour of *Edgar's* right, never returned, but left their families habituated in those countries, chusing, if they must live under a foreign dominion, to do it rather abroad than at home.

In the next place, *England* lost the true line of their ancient *Saxon* Kings, who were a race of just, good, and pious Princes, governed by such known laws, and with such moderation, and were so beloved of their people, as makes it observed by writers, that no popular insurrection ever happened in any of the *Saxon* reigns.

Lastly, *England* by the conquest lost, in a great measure, the old plainness and simplicity of the *Saxon* times, and customs of life, who were generally a people of good meaning, plain dealing, contented with their own, little coveting or imitating their neighbours,

bours, and living frugally upon the product of their own fruitful soil : for the profusion of meats at our *English* tables, came in with the *Danes*, and the luxury of them was introduced first by the *Normans*, and after increased by the more frequent use of wines, upon the accession of *Guienne* to this Crown.

What we preserved, is remarkable in three particulars not usual upon great conquests ; for, first, we preserved our name, which was lost by the *Saxon* invasions, but that of *England* then (succeeding the other of *Britain*) has ever since continued.

Next, we preserved our language, or the old *English* tongue, which has made the body and substance of what still remains, though much enlarged and polished since those times, by the transplanting many words out of foreign languages, especially *Latin* and *French*.

In the last place, we preserved our forms of government, our laws and institutions, which have been so much celebrated by ancient writers, and have been so obstinately defended by our ancestors ; and are by Chancellor *Fortescue*, who writ in the time of *Henry* the Sixth, averred to have been preserved through the five several governments in this island, of *Normans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, *Romans*, and *Britains*, and so to have continued for a longer course of time, than those of *Rome* or *Venice*, or any other nation known in story. But this, I doubt, is not so easily proved, as affirmed, though it may be with more certainty of the three first, which is sufficient to illustrate the antiquity of our constitutions, without recourse to strained or uncertain allegations.

For what we gained by our loss in this conquest, though it seems a contradiction, yet it may be observed in many more particulars than the other two.

First

First, *England* grew much greater, both in dominion and power, abroad; and also in dignity and state at home, by the accession of so much territory upon the continent. For, though the *Normans* by the conquest gained much of the *English* lands and riches, yet *England* gained *Normandy*, which by it became a province to this Crown.

Next, it gained greater strength by the great numbers of *Normans* and *French*, that came over with the Conqueror, and after his establishment here; and incorporated with the *English* nation, joining with them in the same language, laws, and interests.

Then we gained much by the great increase of our naval power, and multitude of ships, wherein *Normandy* then abounded, by the advantage of more and better havens, than in latter ages. This, with the perpetual intercourse between *England* and *Normandy*, and other parts of the continent, gave us a mighty increase of trade and commerce, and thereby of treasure to the Crown and kingdom; which appeared first in so great a mass, as was left by the Conqueror to Prince *Henry* his younger son.

England, by the conquest, gained likewise a natural right to the dominion of the narrow seas, which had been before acquired only by the great naval power of *Edgar*, and other *Saxon* Kings. But the dominion of the narrow seas, seems naturally to belong, like that of rivers, to those who possess the banks or coasts on both sides; and so to have strengthened the former title, by so long a coast, as that of *Normandy* of one side, and of *England* on the other side of the channel.

Besides, by this conquest we gained more learning, more civility, more refinement of language, customs, and manners, from the great resort of other strangers, as well as mixture of *French* and *Normans*.

And,

And, lastly, we gained all our consideration abroad, by carrying our arms so often, and so gloriously, as well as extending our dominions, into foreign countries: so that whereas our *Saxon* Kings were little known abroad, farther than by the fame of their devotion and piety, or their journeys, gifts and oblations made to *Rome*; after the conquest, the Crown of *England* grew first to be feared by our neighbours, to have constant intercourse with other foreign Princes, to take part and be considered in all the affairs of *Christendom*; and by the following accessions of *Anjou* and *Guienne*, came, in a short time, to be esteemed, without controversy, while they possessed those dominions, the greatest power of any kingdom then in *Christendom*; as appears by so many glorious adventures and successes of their arms in *France*, *Spain*, *Britany*, *Flanders*, *Sicily*, and the *Holy-Land*.

From all these happy circumstances of this famous conquest, all the succeeding Kings of *England* seem justly to have done this Conqueror the honour of dating from him the first great period of their reigns: by which those of the *Saxons*, and other preceeding dominions or governments here, are left us in story, but like so many antique, broken or defaced pictures, which may still represent something of the customs and fashions of those ages, though little of the true lines, proportions, or resemblance. But all that has succeeded since this King's reign, though not drawn by any one skilful hand, or by the life, yet is represented in so clear a light, as leaves very little either obscure or uncertain in the history of our kingdom, or the succession of our Kings.

F I N I S.

